


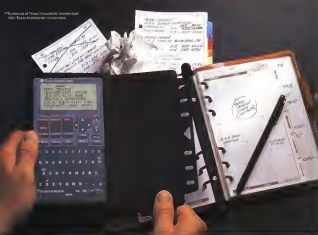
Maclean's Tomorrow's Man?



RUSSIA:
AFTER BLOODY
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- How Jean Chrétien Would Govern
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48 WORLD
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COVER PHOTO BY GREGORY HECHT

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE OCTOBER 18, 1992 VOL. 106 NO. 43

Tomorrow's man?

12 Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien enjoyed a lead in national polls with two weeks to go in the election, but Reform clearly was on the march. With at least a minority government in his sights, Chrétien faced increasing scrutiny about his policies. Beyond uncertainty about his policies, one question dominated: what kind of man would he be?



After Russia's Bloody Monday

38 Western leaders supported Boris Yeltsin's decision to stand in the polls against his conservative foes. But privately, they warned that the show of force might hinder Russia's movement towards democracy and a stable economy

A man for all seasons

64 Tom Jackson has many faces. In addition to his work on stage and in television, Jackson is a folk singer and a philanthropist. As a teenager he lived on the streets and became a "broken, busted man." Now, the active actor is enjoying the busiest time of his career.



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LETTERS

Political economist

I agree with Peter C. Newman ("It's time to bounce Crow out on his ear," *Business Watch*, Oct. 4): Canada's economy has been devastated by the policies of the governor of the Bank of Canada. It was John Crow's artificial boosting of the dollar, not the Free Trade Agreement, that damaged Ontario's manufacturing industries. The recent devaluation of the dollar attests to the fact that Crow must have learned his lesson, albeit far too late for us.

Arden Pitt,
Burlington, Ont.

John Crow's record may not be perfect, but he cannot be blamed for global recession or for the fact that not even the low interest rates prevailing in the United States have stabilized that country from recession. Leading economists predict Canada will have the highest rate of economic growth among the leading industrialized nations in both 1993 and 1994. This outlook is attributable in no small part to the confidence that foreign investors now place in the conduct of Canadian monetary policy. The conservative and increases that give our monetary policy such high credit would hardly support firing the person responsible.

Paul J. Ford, Peter Bawit,
David Landier, Neil Gensler,
Department of Economics,
University of Western Ontario,
London, Ont.

It is unfair to cite John Crow's "abysmal record" and "naïve economics" without at least giving him credit for Canada's remarkable performance on inflation and the current low interest rates that the country enjoys. In Newman's economically illiterate view of the world, the Bank of Canada is hoard with all sorts of power to control the economy. In the long run, the only thing the bank can do is protect the purchasing power of the Canadian dollar. And all the willing in the world won't change that.

Paul K. Melius,
Barnaby, B.C.

Why just bounce John Crow out of office? Has there ever been a more uniformed institution than that of the governor of the Bank of Canada? Appointed by the politically unselected board of directors of Canada's central bank, the governor has practically unlimited power in his capacity to control our country's financial fortunes. I don't imagine



Crow: should be given credit for Canada's low interest and inflation rates.

really necessary, then let it be in the form of a deputy minister who is fully subordinate to the decision-making processes of the elected government in power.

Ernest Muller,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dialogue on debt

If your group ("Tough choices," *Cover*, Sept. 27) had not been so interested in protecting their vested interests, they might have seen the opportunities to eliminate so many expenditures that we can easily live without—subsidies to the film industry, Canada Council grants, millions spent on multiculturalism, just to name a few. (But as some cuts may seem, all that is required is imagination and backbone—two attributes Ottawa lacks.)

George C. Norris,
Newmarket

If we're running out of funds, we've either got to lay less or raise more. Why did the Mackenzie group suggest the latter? Did we

CORRECTION

In the Sept. 27 edition ("Purse for the Queen," Opening Night), Mackenzie's report that Conrad Black's autobiography, *A Life in Progress*, contained an incorrect allegation that Toronto writer Linda McQuinn had received a Canada Council grant. The report was based on the use of uncorroborated advance publicity. In fact, the book, to be published on Nov. 1, makes no such reference.

one will them that corporate tax contribution as a percentage of gross domestic product have dropped substantially over the past 25 years? Let's not be fooled into eating our social programs. A healthy, well-educated nation is a productive nation. Is it really a tough choice to decide that this is the kind of country we want?

Graefy and Colville Dixon,
Surrey, B.C.

I'd like to congratulate you on the articles entitled "Tough choices" and "A debt hand-book" (*Cover*, Sept. 27). As a result of the excellent presentation of a very complex subject, I now have a much better understanding of one of the major problems facing our country: a standard of living we can't afford. There is a certain amount of truth to the saying "ignorance is bliss."

B. K. Linton,
Hastings, Ont.

Tourist trap

Fred Houtz's column "Overreacting to random killings" (*An American View*, Oct. 4) omits the point. He says 40 million tourists toured Florida and "only" one tenth of one per cent were victimized by crime. That means 40,000 tourists were robbed, mugged or shot. Come on, Fred, get to the real problem—help the U.S. government address the inclination with violence permeating U.S. culture.

Bob Delaney,
Mississauga, Ont.

Letters may be edited for space and clarity. Please supply your address and daytime telephone. Write Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, 300 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 1P1. Or call (416) 594-1770.

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Maclean's

CANADA'S FINEST NEWS MAGAZINE

LETTERS

tal policy mistake at best; the CBC partly through advertising. The only justification for the CBC is the protection of programs meeting cultural and national objectives that private enterprise cannot provide. Commercial advertising and ratings pressures have lessened compromise these objectives. The larger the cost recovery through advertising, the smaller the justification for the CBC. If the CBC had only public funding, its air time would not doubt be reduced, but the resulting increase in Canadian private enterprise programming, paid for by heavier CBC advertisers, might more than make up the difference.

Henry M. Bradfield,
Marine Bridge N.S.

Elucidate, please

I believe that most of your readers, like myself, from time to time might yearn for a little more substantialism for some of David Francis's more outlandish references ("The perils of electing a new government," Colston, Sept. 27). She states that the only real job creation that ever works is as consumers where taxes are low and where wealth creation is rewarded and encouraged. Surely Deane would be happy to elucidate, with examples, for the benefit of all parties. This might be the answer to your issue: "Who will save your job?" (Korin, Sept. 28).

Jim Macdon,
Richmond, B.C.

The chambers of commerce across Canada would agree with David Francis's proposal on debt reduction. We are over-indebted, waste too much time and money and are not getting the quality of government that we are paying for. It is time for business, labor and governments to get down to the job of rebuilding this wonderful country so we leave a legacy of promise, not debt.

Vincent Galt,
President, Greater Peterborough
Chamber of Commerce,
Peterborough, Ont.

Family feuds

Your article "Divided dynasties" is over, I think, about the McCain family in New Brunswick, and factious over family business certainly isn't new. My siblings and I no longer speak to each other due to decisions made about our father's business. Although this company is mature in comparison to the family examples given, the strained relations and conflict can be just as painful.

Deane Strong,
Bathurst, Que.

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COLUMN



Why the Tories have the wrong stuff

BY BARBARA AMIEL

I arrived back in Canada in time to see the latest political debates, better known to my household as the morning debates. Oh, I tried. I tried to see the fire of Mr. Campbell, the solidity of Jean Chretien, the compassion of Audrey, the rugged individualism of Preston and the patriotic fervor of Lucien. But there is a limit to what the average man can do. These debates left me disheartened. I think I lost consciousness only once, however, and that was during the French debate when a disgruntled Young Person asked Campbell what she was going to do for young people.

Please, my heart whispered, let her not talk about the future hopes of our nation. But Campbell's heart did not hear mine. "Young people are the foundation of the future," she began, her watery-lipped face pining on blab-blab-dab-dab till I successfully blinked out.

The problem is not with the physiology of the leaders, of course. But their faces on our television screens seem to take on the character of their own's thoughts. Campbell's one of them, I would answer that self-satisfied Young Person with the poise that it was not up to the government to "do" things for young people? Is there a petition anywhere in Canada who will tell young people that it is up to them to make their own future? The government can only give them a stable political framework that will permit them to demonstrate their own enterprise and ability.

Campbell, I am told, has coined the phrase "The New Politics or was it The Politics of Maturity?" As far as I can see, her politics boil down to the notion that the public is not able to be told details of what she wants to do, so would they please stop asking questions and elect her. The Canadian public, not being so totally challenged as its leader also, is rapidly losing belief in such stories.

Predictably, The Globe and Mail for whom all women are leftish feminists, ran a page 2 column on the day of the debates at which a disgruntled feminist called Ann Sheehy

claimed that the Tories had subconsciously voted for Campbell as leader because women are always chosen "as men where they cannot win." I think Ann has chosen President L'Amour her career choice and if her career is to be journalism, she should stick clear of thick pieces and try sports coverage.

The trouble with Campbell is that she is so not of touch with Canada as most of the rest of her party. Consider the campaign literature of the PC candidate in Toronto's Rosedale riding, where David Macdonald, "young member of the King Campbell team," will himself be taking his interests in the following order: first, "leading the fight to preserve the Earth's ozone layer," second "more government funding for the struggle against AIDS," third, "Canada's efforts to improve conditions in the Third World," and finally, "young people's relief activities in the Horn of Africa."

Is he mad? Could he be back on any dose and find that the primary concerns of his constituents include any three out of those four? A cynical politico told me that the reason Macdonald's first listed funding was that a large part of the Rosedale riding includes a sizable gay community. I still don't buy it.

Homosexuals do not include a groupthink any more than heterosexuals. I suspect their vote cannot be bought with emphasis on AIDS any more than men can be bought with more money for the diagnosis of cervical cancer. What Canadians of every sexual persuasion want to know is how this country is going to be pulled out of its present economic and social malaise, and continue the dream into Macdonald's sphere of interest as a Third World country.

The Progressive Conservative party is lost, filled with candidates it thinks are successful who flirt with feminism, eco-ism and every halfhearted idea under the sun. Still, someone once told me not to criticize unless you have something constructive to offer. Here, then, would be my platform for this election:

The only way to fight unemployment in this country is to encourage a cost-effective manufacturing sector. In order to do that we have to stop subsidizing employers. This is particularly true in Ontario, and it means we have to scrap all the recent regulations and labor laws that have tipped the balance in the employer-employee relationship in favor of the worker, such as the proposed employment equity act, pay equity and so forth. This will not bring Canada back into the 1980s age of overregulation and bled labor, but will woo back the foreign investment we have lost.

The endless process of identifying categories of victims in Canada—ethnic, regional, religious, linguistic, sexual and so on—and throwing money at them has no end. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms with its enshrined inequality provisions following discrimination in favor of whatever the spirit of the times decreed ought to be scrapped. In its place we need a new simplified charter that guarantees property and true equality—not inequality—before the law.

Our social system has to be overhauled to become a safety net not a hammock. (I quote my husband.) Unemployment insurance, for example, is there to insure those who, through no fault of their own, become unemployed. It is not there, even at a reduced rate, for those who quit jobs voluntarily. Governments should not be paying welfare to teenagers who leave their home because they feel midnight carns to be a career. The needs of the old sick and those facing genuine crises should be met.

And the issue of government-sponsored multiculturalism. Recognize that this is a bilingual nation made up of two founding nations, British and French. Any province that wants not should be allowed to go as far as it immediately requires as per capita share of the federal purse, but the immigration debate on track. Every citizen in the world benefits from a homogenized sense of values and the values of millions of Europeans, combined with such recent immigrants as those from Hong Kong and India can assimilate and enhance Canadian culture. That's what she does it. And with the exception of Dorothy Parker, I am "Marie de Romania," but I'm willing to settle for government.

The Conservatives are lost—filled with candidates who flirt with feminism, eco-ism and every half-baked idea under the sun

A shock to the system

Sometime soon, Canada's leaders will have to figure out what voters already know: the old order is dead

BY ROSS LAVER

The story of the 1993 federal election campaign so far is rife with contradictions, but one in particular towers above the rest. At a time when the number of Canadians who profess to care about politics is probably at its highest low, Canadians appear poised to march to the polls on Oct. 25 and, in one fell swoop, radically reform the political map—guaranteeing a decisive new round of national politicking.

No wonder the headline parties seem dazed and confused. After the stunning defeat of the Charbonneau-led accord at last year's referendum, they spent millions on polls and focus groups to divine the radical national mood. Overnight, it became fashionable to speak of the public's disaffection with truly national, top-down politics. Prime Minister Jean Charest showed himself fluent in the new language of public life by vowing, during the Conservative leadership race, to "change the way we do politics in this country." Exactly how was never clear, but at least she sounded like she recognized the problem.

Somehow, though, the message never sunk in. For in the political back rooms, Tories and Liberals kept reassessing one another: that the referendum was an unlikely case—a chance for wary Canadians to blow off steam. Surely, when it came time to choose a new government, voters would regain their senses, rejecting the radical perceptions of the Reform party and the Bloc Québécois in favor of the tried, if not always true, politics of the past.

On Oct. 25, all three traditional parties may pay a considerable price

for that miscommunication. In Campbell's case, the result could be devastating. After last week's debates, a wave of sour pussies swept through Conservative headquarters, driven by fears that the party that has governed for nine years is about to be reduced to a collection of perhaps 32 seats scattered across Ontario and the West. To paraphrase one of her favorite sayings, Campbell can virtually tick the ticks of political reform, but her ability to walk the walk is in serious doubt. Did she really expect voters to believe she represented a new style of politics when she was unwilling to discuss her plans except in vague generalities?

The New Democrats, whose fate was probably sealed the moment even worse shape. For a long time, party legislators sought comfort in the belief that NDP Leader Audrey McLaughlin's popularity would soar once voters had a chance to see her in action in the campaign. Instead, the party has sunk so low that it will need a miracle simply to hang on to the 12 seats required for official party status. One sign of how dependent New Democrats have become is that there has been scarcely a mention of disaffection with McLaughlin's leadership. Most type legislators say there is little she could have done to avert the coming disaster.

Even the Liberals, the most obvious beneficiaries of the Tory collapse, had little reason to celebrate last week. By conventional standards, Jean Chrétien performed well in the debates, taking few risks and committing no noticeable errors that might have threatened his status as the campaign's front-runner. But in the microcosmic 1993,

Chrétien, Campbell, Bouchard, McLaughlin and Manning at last week's French-language television debate on the political system fragments, voters may be witnessing the birth of irrelevance in Canadian politics

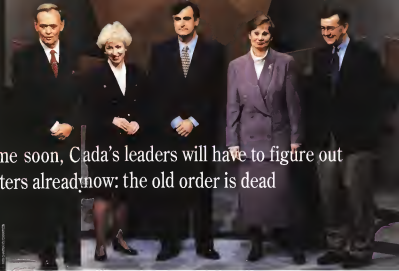
playing it safe can be exponentially risky. In a year when many voters are clamoring for change, Chrétien's carefully hedged pronouncements too often sound like a poor substitute for the real thing. Sure enough, the Liberals at week's end were too busy worrying about the surging fortunes of Preston Manning's Reformers to spend much time among their fans. What remained unclear was whether the months spent attacking by Chrétien, Campbell and McLaughlin would undermine Reform's support or simply educate more voters about the quasireformers.

As for the prospect of Liberal gains in Quebec, that seemed almost a lost cause. Like Reform, Lucien Bouchard's Bloc Québécois has for most of its short history been considered no match for the experience and professionalism of the older parties—whose supporters disparage the new party as "Bloc brats." Yet like Reform, the Bloc is now on the brink of a historic breakthrough. Brian Mulroney came to power in 1984 with a loose coalition of westernist Quebecers and Western populists. Soon, representatives of those same two groups may be battling each other on the floor of the Commons, with dispiriting implications for the country's future.

At some point, the politicians and their advisers are going to figure out what most voters already know: the old order is dead. Since Canadian voters, most Canadians have adapted with ease to the other of the country's two major political groupings, Tories and Grins. By ending

people of various regional, cultural and economic backgrounds, the system fostered a workable national consensus. But it could stand only as long as voters displayed some measure of respect for their leaders, and a willingness to compromise for the national interest. For better or for worse, those days are probably gone. Respect has given way to defiance, and compromise is now a dirty word. Instead of consensus-building, voters may be witnessing the birth of irrelevance in Canadian politics. Just as the Bloc Québécois has emerged as the voice of anxious Quebecers, the Liberals draw much of their strength from disadvantaged Atlantic Canadians and ethnic minorities, the Tories from pragmatic, white-collar professionals and managers and Reform from frustrated, middle-class conservatives and others who feel threatened by rising crime, immigration and the forces of economic and social change.

Unless things change dramatically by voting day, Canada's political system is going to become more fragmented than ever before in the country's 130-year history. That raises one of the other great contradictions of this campaign: Across the country, voters are fed up with endless political debates and argument for argument's sake. Many no longer reason to care what their politicians say or do, believing that most of what happens in Ottawa has no bearing on their daily lives. Yet the results on Oct. 25 are likely to be profoundly divisive. Many parties differently may well turn out to mean a great deal more squabbling and arguing, not less. □





A struggle to survive

As she stood outside a high school gymnasium in Prince Edward Island last week, waiting to be introduced, Canada's 19th Prime Minister looked like a boxer jumping in front of a prize fight. Kim Campbell paced nervously back and forth, twirling her arms and rubbing her head from side to side in an apparent effort to loosen up. From time to time, she made polite conversation with an aide and flashed smiles at a small knot of supporters. Then, when her name was announced, she stride boldly into the gym, and before about 400 Conservative supporters, delivered one of her most passionate speeches of the campaign. "The media are talking about a more aggressive Kim Campbell," she said, smiling at the sea of both hands. "And they're right. It's time to tell the truth about the other option."

It was a spirited performance, but Campbell

The Tory collapse is reflected in the growing discontent at campaign headquarters

and the Tories appear to be fighting a losing battle. Mapping an election campaign, after all, differs from boxing in several key respects. In politics, the best defender is not always a good winner. And in politics, the harder you run, the more it may appear that you have something to hide. While Campbell staggered across five positions in less than three days last week, she and her party were doing their best to dodge a series of embarrassing revelations and accusations. Chief among them: the controversial promotion of Toronto's Portman airport (page 50).

The Tories refused to respond to that—or any other controversy—directly. Instead, a clearly exasperated and sometimes gleeful Campbell continued to ignore journalists' questions. Since her victory at the Tory leadership convention on June 13, she has not held a single formal news conference. She also paid scant attention to her speeches to her party's policies, referring only

Campbell and Charvat: deep wounds after a narrow leadership victory

vaguely to the programs the party would implement if re-elected. Campbell spent most of her time attacking the Liberals and Preston Manning's New Democrats. Reform party—the target of a hard-hitting new series of Tory television ads. (An Angus Reid/Scotiabank News poll conducted immediately after the televised debates made the reason for that criticism obvious. Reform was tied with the Conservatives in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, was first in Alberta and British Columbia and was close to overtaking the Tories nationally. The findings: Liberals, 37 per cent; Tories, 22 per cent; Reform, 18 per cent; Bloc Quebecois, 22 per cent; New Democratic Party, eight per cent.

For the Tories, whose popularity has been sliding since the campaign began, the outlook is even grimmer than these numbers suggest. Because their supporters are dispersed widely across the country, the Tories could find themselves in third or even fourth place behind the Liberals, Reform and the Bloc. Some senior Tories privately grudgingly admit that, based on their own polling results, the party's share of the 295 House of Commons seats will fall to no more than 40, from 133 now.

Current trends also suggest that more than half of Campbell's 24 cabinet colleagues are headed for defeat. Three in seven cabinet ministers: Finance Minister Gilles Létourneau, Human Resources Minister Bernard Valcourt, External Affairs Minister Peter Beatty, Public Security Minister Doug Lewis and Defence Minister Tom Siddons. (An Angus Reid/Scotiabank poll that only three of the party's

33 Quebec MPs are considered safe. Deputy Prime Minister Jean Charvat and 10th Guy Stukelen and Vincent Della Noce, each of whom has a large local following. Yet even Charvat—the party's best-known figure after Campbell—has cut back on his national campaigning to spend more time on his riding.

Predictably, the Tory collapse is reflected in growing discontent and backbiting at the highest levels. The primary culprit, according to accounts by critics in the party, are campaign co-chairman John Tory and senior adviser Patrick Kinnella, veteran party publicist Alan Gregg and Campbell herself. Critics, requesting anonymity, say that such has caused the worst major error

• Party insiders hold Tory responsible for several tactical blunders. Notably, the party entered the election without a policy platform. As well, Tory failed to unify campaign tactics, and he prepared for only one enemy, the Liberals. The failure of that strategy, some party members say, has left Tory confused and depressed. Said one insider: "He's in the extraordinary position where people are having to give encouragement to the co-chairman of the campaign in the middle of the campaign."

• Kinnella, an Ontario native who now lives in Vancouver, is an aloof and widely disliked figure in the party—although even his critics respect him for his intelligence and no-nonsense approach to politics. He is also one of Campbell's favorites and one of the few people the voters are for. Tories say that Kinnella, who is travelling with Campbell dur-

Canada Notes

P.L. BRIDGE APPROVED

A Calgary-based consortium received final approval to build a \$3-billion bridge between Phipps Island and the New Brunswick mainland. A handful of protesters at the signing ceremony in Charlottetown were outnumbered by supporters of the \$600-million project.

MURDERER CONVICTED

A Nova Scotia jury found Physician Daniel MacNeil, 23, guilty of murder in the May, 1992, killings of a McDonald's restaurant in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. Derek Wood and Darro Menzies, both 26, were convicted of murder one year later this year.

CANDIDATES WANTED

Pressure to change the rules governing the Quebec Liberal leadership campaign grew when deputy premier Luc Bouchard alleged that the selection process was "perverted." Her complaints followed predictions that Treasury Board President Daniel Johnson could be crowned leader at an uncontested convention last January. Several other potential candidates have declined to enter the race.

PROTESTERS CONVICTED

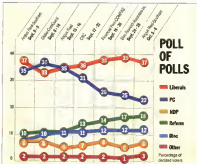
Four protesters, including a leading environmentalist and the leader of the British Columbia Green Party, were among the 11 people convicted following a summer-long protest over logging in the Clayoquot area of Vancouver Island. More than 700 people were arrested for blocking logging roads.

SIX CHARGES DENIED

Ontario provincial court Judge Walter Hryciuk questioned the credibility of witnesses at an inquiry into complaints that he sexually abused a number of female colleagues. Ron Lewis, a former court reporter, testified that Judge Hryciuk grabbed her buttocks and penetrated her vagina with his finger at a party. But he denied the allegations.

POLICE OFFICERS KILLED

Two police officers were killed in separate accidents less than 24 hours apart. Sudbury Regional Police Const. Joseph MacDonald was gunned down following a routine traffic check. Hours later in Calgary, Const. Richard Seaman was struck and killed by a stolen car. Police charged a 17-year-old male with criminal negligence causing death.



ing the campaign, has isolated her from other activists, outpolled all views of her performance and shunned her from the true extent of the campaign's problems.

Believe and after the Sept. 8 launch of the election campaign, George generally told after they strategized that Campbell would be outperformed primarily by their perceptions of the party leaders. The theory was that voters would cast their ballots for the leader with whom they most closely identified. Based on that advice, the Conservative campaigner Campbell's presence rather than detailed policy discussions. With pro-consensus opinion polls indicating that Campbell was by far the most popular leader, the Tories assumed that it was only a matter of time before the party's approval ratings caught up to hers. Indeed, Campbell's level of popularity has dipped sharply during the campaign. Among other things, but has mirrored long-standing complaints among some Tories that George—widely considered Canada's top politician—is persecuted by other projects. George's weaknesses, according party headquarters include "Wallo"—after the hard-core children's character—and "the accidental" wandering on from time to time to check up on the campaign.

Campbell's handlers say that she alone is responsible for restoring whatever hope the party had of re-election after the June resignation of former prime minister Jean Chretien. But others are much less than polite. Complaints a senior Tory who worked for Campbell during the last federal campaign. "She is not a team player." Rather, she and a small circle of supporters were convinced that her personal popularity would be sufficient to ensure victory. Having joined the party shortly before her election as MP for Vancouver Centre in 1996, she has few confidants with whom she is comfortable discussing and debating ideas. Along with Tory, Russell and George, Campbell relies most on the adviser of Frederick Manning, Ross Reid. But the latter, Midwestern, critics say, she is not skilled in building support and breaking different stereotypes.

Protest more to the point, Campbell has made little effort to heal the deep wounds left after her early leadership victory over Chretien. Publicly all is fine. Chretien's arrival at Campbell's quarters on the executive, and Chretien's campaign manager, Judi White, a tough, smart organizer, is now Campbell's chief of staff. But White only recently began to travel with Campbell, and one source says that the relationship between the two is "not above average."

Similarly, George Chretien's national popularity, but Campbell has little



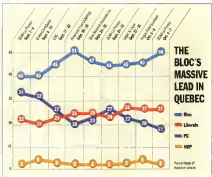
They: Inevitable showdown, including the fishbowl to prepare for any victory other than the Liberals

sense time, but at least it's just that the Tories hearing him get more up close than she does." In fact, while Chretien is careful to stress his loyalty to the Prime Minister, many of his former Quebec supporters are not nearly so enthusiastic. Some will not be dismayed if the election is a defeat. Still one of the party's most vocal Quebecers, "There are a lot of people around here who think the leadership race is not over yet—it should not be."

But Campbell's problems run deeper than the issue of how well she relates with other members of the party. After all, an leader she has the right to make her own decisions. And so someone who has promised "new politics," it is clearly within her mandate to an extreme traditional ways of campaigning. The trouble, one of her own advisers conceded recently, is that "they really believe in doing things differently, but the truth is that she is doing nothing but has not been

done a thousand times before."

Indeed, Campbell's only unusual campaign tactic was her decision to bypass traditional partisan allies in favor of meetings at which she would converse with small, carefully selected groups of Canadians. That approach was pioneered by Pierre Trudeau in 1972, when his campaign was dubbed "converse



with Canadians"—but produced a full and entirely government. It was practiced with greater effect in the United States last year by then-Democratic candidate Bill Clinton. Similarly, Campbell viewed it as one of her chief speeches as Prime Minister to stay away from personal attacks on other politicians, and to "be direct, initial and direct with Canadians at all times."

But with the Tories' plummeting in the polls, those below rallies, along with her personal attacks on personal attacks, have gone by the boards. The only reminder of the first weeks of the campaign is her final week for describing a visit in early September to an Atlantic salmon cannery factory in Lunenburg, Oct. Dover and over, she has described it as an inspirational Canadian

success story—while her advisers rolled their eyes. On the stump and in last week's two televised debates, Campbell has been aggressively and sometimes harshly partisan—such as when she and Chretien took turns describing each other as a "bumping stick." Similarly, Campbell's insistence on having her own debate-fighting press over the next five years of economic growth predictions that even Tories admit are overly optimistic is hardly what might be expected from someone practicing a more careful style of politics.

No doubt it is some consolation to the Tories that the Liberals, too, are divided on their approach to the campaign. But for now, the biggest question facing the Liberals is whether they will turn a victory or a major

ty government. The Tories, by contrast, are fighting for their lives. More than a few people in either party have noticed the striking competition between this election and 1986, when it was the Liberals who placed all their hopes on the belief that a new leader would be enough to bring them a new mandate. "Now," says Campbell adviser confidant last week, "we can appreciate how big that gamble was." Under John Turner, the Liberals were routed in 80 weeks in 1986, divided and facing a much more diverse group of opponents, the question is whether the Tories will do as better.

ANTHONY WILSON/SMITH is in St. John's, Nfld., with MARY MCGEE in Toronto and R. KARE FULLER in Ottawa.

The relentless Mr. Manning

It is one of Reform party leader Preston Manning's favorite anecdotes. Growing up in Edmonton, the son of Alberta's late Liberal Social Credit premier Ernest Manning, the young Preston was once caught by a housekeeper hired by his mother. One of his housekeepers, he recalls, was not determined to shield Preston and his older brother, Keith, from negative attacks on their father that he would clip out of the daily newspaper all derogatory references to the premier and his government before the boys could see them. "Some days," Manning recalls with a grin, "the paper looked like comedy."

If that housekeeper had been on the job last week, she would have been working overtime. In the wake of Manning's steady, if unimpressive, performance in the Oct. 4 nationally televised political leaders' debate—as well as in a recent series of public opinion polls showing Reform support surging everywhere west of the Ottawa River—Manning's political opponents pounced



Manning: Reform's opponents crank up the volume

on the volume and velocity of their attacks on the 50-year-old former government consultant. NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin reminded supporters in Saskatchewan that, as an ex-teacher, Ernest Manning had fought against the introduction of a national medicine (plus in the 1960s). Preston Manning, she declared, in "carrying on a 20-year-old fight to try and kill (and) we are not going to let him." Not to be outdone, Liberal leader Jean Chretien had a group of senators in Vermont, N.C., that Manning wants to get re-elected and take away their old-age pensions. Chretien also mentioned Manning's support for Canada's no longer able to keep all of its universal social programs. "In the embassy," he said, "a country like Canada can afford dignity for every citizen and for every sector."

In the debate itself, the Reform leader generally stuck to the issues that had served him well—including his calls to get Canada's fiscal house in order and to make politicians more accountable—and kept his cool while several of his opponents resorted to name-calling and finger-pointing. That pattern persisted in one of several Conservative "attacks" ads that began airing a day later, scores were

Liberals in Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The poll results prompted Manning to take a few shots at the party that now appears to be Reform's main rival, the Liberals. Stomping his foot, supporters in Chatham, B.C., Manning attacked the Liberal government's universalized jobcreation proposal as "a dangerously unbalanced idea." He also spoke, for the first time, about the possibility of Reform forcing the official Opposition.

As he said that that would have sounded only a few weeks ago, Manning has reason to be confident. "At this point," says John Wright, a senior vice-president with the Angus Reid Group, "the momentum is really with Manning." Wright added that the ongoing attacks on Reform, especially those by the Tories, could backfire. "There is a fine line between putting forward your own plan and looking desperate." Still, Manning can expect one of the more in the campaign maps as final days. And he can no longer count on a reversal to clip the unpleasant parts out of his newspapers.

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Tomorrow's man?

The focus now is on Jean Chrétien and how he would govern Canada

BY E. KAYE PULTON AND MARY JANIGAN

Liberal aides gave someone Pelt's last summer showed that Prime Minister Kim Campbell was the most popular federal politician in the country, leaving Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien in the dust. "We're on track," muttered an assistant, telling Chrétien in a Liberal caucus meeting in Parisiawest. But Chrétien had already abruptly "Yeah," he said, "but I rather not, and sure he, or we'll lose and have a hell of a time doing it."

Seemingly oblivious to the unsettling changes in the world, Jean Chrétien is battling the same political dragons that he has fought for so many years. After three decades in public life, and only two weeks before the federal election that could send him to prime minister, he is nervously confident that he has the resources for what ails Canada. It shows in the determined way that

he plunges into crowds, gathering their good wishes, exuding self-assurance. It shows when he passionately defends his policies, and himself, from his rivals' attacks. Most of all, it shows when he casually deflects worried inquiries about his view of Canada's fate. His priorities are simple: solutions to the filtering economy jobs. And he seeks at the outset that Quebec seriously wants to leave Canada. "You go back through all the stuff before any election and it is always the same vocabulary," he told Mackenzie last week. "There is nothing new."

Such unshakable confidence cannot quell the question that haunts Chrétien during this campaign: simply put, would he make a good prime minister? But that same self-assurance has carried him through a lifetime of dramatic personal and political upheaval. It has swept him from his Quebec birthplace of Beauport, where he was trained on the politics of protest, to the centre of power in Ottawa, where he astutely outmaneuvered his ostensibly more sophisticated colleagues to capture nine successive cabinet posts. Declined or has been led for the party leadership in 1984, he returned in 1990 to rally a lost party on his own terms and at his own pace. Characterized as "yesterday's man," he reached out to his former leadership rivals with calculated grace, trusting them to deliver to day's ideas. Then, in the early stages of the election campaign, he captured control of the agenda with his instinctive understanding that job creation is a broad-based/worker concern. "He has got great ideas about politics," says Ron Fournier, the Liberal campaign chairman in British Columbia. "There is something about the way that he delegates responsibilities that makes people get on the centre

effort without being told precisely how to do it." These are formidable reasons in any leader—and they have seen the 59-year-old Chrétien through crises when even his allies feared he would fail. But the 1995 campaign has stretched to the limit Chrétien's ability to adapt to the prevailing political climate. His political

▀ Tradition, John Turner, Pearson and Chrétien in 1987: the Liberal leader cultivates the image of a rough-hewn, uncorrupted man of the people, but his antipolitical disposition conceals shrewdness and calculating ambivalence



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philosophy, a product of the 1980s, often serves at odds with the reality of the 1990s. Although his campaign platform carefully lists the cost of his promises and the spending cuts needed to offset them, Chrétien himself typically resorts to old-fashioned hyperbole to sell his policies. In some ways, his approach is a reminder of the good old days, when Canadians could afford to be idealistic. But it has also blunted his party's appeal among voters who want specific answers—and who are wary of vague assurances. As one Liberal strategist put it last week, “You have to ask yourself how someone who has not changed his gear since 20 years ago can go to govern. The danger is that he will always practice much more than he can deliver.”

Chrétien's given-the-sky rhetoric—his claim to be able to put Canadians back to work and preserve the social safety net while at the same time cutting the deficit—has drawn heavy fire from his rivals. Even some of his senior aides worry that he is exaggerating the impact on the economy of his plan to spend \$6 billion of taxpayers' money to repair the nation's roads and bridges. By frequently claiming that just as the tonic for the nation's ills, critics fear Chrétien sounds overly simple-

government's accomplishments, he will likely offend the restless GST, for example, to make it easier to collect, he will probably allow the provinces to keep a portion of GST revenues if they combine their provincial sales taxes with the federal sales tax. Such a move may simplify tax collection—but they will probably disquiet voters who hoped that Chrétien would simply wave a magic wand and make the tax disappear.

On the other hand, a Chrétien government would have some durable strengths. Like former prime minister Brian Mulroney, Chrétien would delegate many responsibilities, especially key economic decision-making powers, to hand-picked ministers and aides. But unlike Mulroney, Chrétien is not the sort of leader to hog the spotlight. In another departure from the Mulroney years, Chrétien told Mulroney's first biographer to study the history of monetary policy, gradually reduce the influence of lobbyists and give back power to the bureaucrats. His senior, former Liberal finance minister Mitchell Sharp, maintains that Chrétien will make a “good”—although perhaps not a great—prime minister. “There is a very practical person. He looks beyond the principle and says, ‘What happens if you apply it?’ It is also very responsible.” That sense of responsibility must soon extend to his campaign strategy if he wants to mend serious problems in office.

Alone Chrétien: when the Chrétien moved into the Opposition Leader's residence at Stornoway, they discovered that there was no china. Rather than killing taxpayers, they bought their own dishes, which their family will inherit.

People have always underestimated Jean Chrétien. As the Conservatives have lately learned, he cultivates the image of a rough-hewn, unpolished man of the people, but his unpolished demeanor conceals shrewdness and calculating ambition, traits that were instilled from childhood. The 10th of 19 children, Chrétien was known in the family rebel. Although he achieved good grades, he often skipped school to follow his merchant father Willie into the union halls and smelter positions. In such unlikeliest settings he found his niche: a devotee to the fiercely manly politics of former Quebec premier Maurice Duplessis, whose anti-banking policies helped to foment the Quiet Revolution. Determined to challenge his tradition-based society, Chrétien won a private scholarship and a summer job at the Shawinigan paper mill to pay for his law studies at McGill University in Quebec City. He adopted his father's assembly-line, bottom-line views. He said the deeply conservative parish priest to read “his own damn business” during elections. And by 1963, when he was only 29, the self-coined “black sheep” had propelled himself from his small-town Quebec roots through law school and into Parliament.

Although Chrétien emulated the style of the Quebec populists, it was prime minister Lester Pearson who taught him how to target his fiery attacks. Patient and reasoned, Pearson kept reminding the young nationalist firecracker that the secret to political success was teamwork. It was a lesson that Chrétien took to heart. 22 years later, when he began to assemble his current campaign team and platform. Although neither man spoke the other's language at first, they shared an underlying love of baseball. By 1985, Pearson recognized Chrétien's talents by appointing him to the largely honorary post of parliamentary secretary. It was Pearson's largest claim that he expected Chrétien to meet.

In 1987, a senior Liberal aide was sent to check up on Chrétien. He was appointed senior minister of finance. “There are no doing,” he said. “The government at a check-up on Chrétien.” “You are just a job of jobs,” he replied. “That is what my deputy on water says. As soon as I get something that I want, he will get something that he wants.”



Chrétien's hyperbole blunts his appeal

In Quebec, especially there will always be comparisons between Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Jean Chrétien. In 1968, Trudeau belatedly led the nation to victory with a majority government. The new prime minister was urbane and sophisticated, an intellectual with a quiet wit. He was everything that Jean Chrétien was not—and never would be. But Chrétien intuitively knew how to make his bureaucrats do his bidding, working hard as hard with them and horse-trading over top priorities.

Trudeau replaced Pearson, the unpolished Chrétien was relegated to a cabinet backwater: Indian affairs and northern development. During his six years in the portfolio, he explained the nation, cultivating a passionate attachment to the land—eventually changing the Rockies to his own. Chrétien, in fact, was at his strongest in Indian Affairs, where his formidable skills with people and his intuitive were valuable assets. The Indians did not find the story of his guttural, especially his struggle to abolish the Indian Act and restore their special status. But they loved him.

Still, being hailed as a nice guy is often not enough. Many cabinet posts seemed a group of details that Chrétien said refused to acknowledge. He has an abiding intolerance for large brooding bodies. Refusing to get bogged down, he usually wants to know only two things: how much a policy is going to cost and how it will play with the public. That does not necessarily mean that the facts are beyond him. But no one person in the Indian portfolio from 1971 to 1979 believes his approach was certainly unorthodox. Former deputy finance minister Timmy Shuyman, now retired and living in Victoria, recalls long weeks and walks with the minister under his Ottawa home, discussing the nation's finances. “He would call me up and say, ‘Gee, we need to talk. Let’s go for a walk,’” said Shuyman. “Chrétien was much more verbal than just ministers.”

That approach could serve him well as prime minister—but only if

he delegates to the right people. But Chrétien's refusal to learn the details got him into serious trouble in Finance. As the first French-Canadian in that post, Chrétien needed at the credibility that the role conferred. But he was often caught off guard because he had not listened to the members. In 1988 Trudeau announced cuts of \$2 billion in federal spending—without informing the minister who was expected to make them. It was a revealing glimpse of Trudeau's estimation of Chrétien's abilities.

In the months leading up to the 1993 campaign, Chrétien's aides worried that he could not afford to be drawn into emotional debates about Quebec's future. Then, after Quebec's Liberal Premier Paré had strongly suggested that Chrétien was not wanted in his innermost circle—and should not go to English Canada. It was not least his motto—Chrétien told his aides that he simply had to defend himself. During that week's three-day French debate, he held out at Sherbrooke. “I am as much of a Quebecker as you are.” The line landed spectacularly. In fact, Chrétien's anger was completely released.

The line that Chrétien walks in Quebec has always been tenuous. Commentators at Quebec branded him a sleepwalker, at his very first House of Commons vote, he joined his colleagues in supporting Pearson's decision to invade U.S. nuclear-armed missiles on Canadian soil. A year later, he succumbed to outside to change the name of Trans-Canada Airlines to Air Canada—because it translated better—went almost unacknowledged in his home province. Quebec in Chrétien's black hole. He is his most shameless booster and his least intimate son. To the profound embarrassment of Quebecers, he used to carry leave in English Canada by referring to himself as a “Quebecer.” At home, while Trudeau combined opposition with fiery rhetoric, Chrétien followed national's separation with cautious air. But he earned the label



lie. His speeches are full of unanswered questions. He has promised to reform the GST—but has not explained how. He has promised to drive down the deficit to three per cent of gross domestic product after three years in office—but has not said what he will do if the economy refuses to grow at the rate that he forecasts. Last week, in a stunning gaffe, he promised to preserve social programs—but he refused to say how. “Let me use the election and, after that, you ask me questions about how I run the government,” he proclaimed. Such vague assurances could lead voters to conclude that Chrétien is just another politician who does not tell the truth. And that could spell the difference between a majority and a majority Liberal government.

If Chrétien does become prime minister, that same habit of vagueness will plague him. Nothing will be easy, and both time and money are short. Despite his abiding rhetoric on teamwork, the near-impossibility of delivering on all of his promises could rapidly overshadow his

Chrétien walks a tortuous line in Quebec

score of many Quebecers in 1981 when he worked with premiers from the other nine provinces to forge a deal to bring home Canada's Constitution without Quebec's consent.

Chrétien's uneasy relationship with Quebec could cause major problems for himself—and for the nation. For 30 years, he has refused to accept the legitimacy of sovereignist aspirations. He dismisses the Bloc Québécois as a fringe protest party. This is no doing, he opposes the Bloc's hard-headed appeal to Quebecers' wallets—sponsored by its call for Quebec to leave behind Canada's debt-grown any longer.

Chrétien maintains that if the unemployment problem is solved, most Quebecers will want to stay. "For me, it's a dream," he says. "There will always be some people who will want to have independence. Politicians make [the Canadian] a problem, but the people do not make it there."

Many of Chrétien's closest friends, including Sharp, believe that his reading material consists only of magazines and newspapers. Told that last week, Chrétien simply smiled. His view is as warm as a sherry frappe. "It cannot have said that," he insists. "I read a lot, but I have never talked about anything about what I am reading. It is not the business of anybody. I never tell anybody. What did you read last week?" It is an element of caution to do that.

No one could ever accuse Jean Chrétien of shyness. Although he avoids low-pressure in the 1980s and his bestselling autobiography, *Straight From The Heart*, have left him financially secure, he lives a frugal, simple life. Ottawa residents often spot him window-shopping through the city, or sipping sweet and sour soup at a hole-in-the-wall Chinese restaurant in a nondescript Ottawa neighborhood. Unlike some politicians, he does not believe the fact that he serves the occasional beer or glass of fine wine after a round of golf at his local club, the Royal Ottawa.

When he and his wife, Alice, moved into the Opposition leader's residence at Succoway, they discovered that there was no class. Rather than being taxpayers, they brought their own dishes when they came to leave to their own grandchildren.

Publicly effusive, the private Chrétien is shy. In part, that diffidence is the result of a birth defect that left him with a dead right ear and a twisted mouth. To compensate, Chrétien adopted his own distinctive language act—which many Liberals now regard as a habit

by. During his 2000 leadership bid, his advisors tried to change this: they had him cup his hands, they forced him to stand from a "Hello/Thank You," they clapped his shoulders warmly. It didn't work. Voters sensed the artifice. So the Liberals are assigned to a middle course, hoping that Canadians will accept Chrétien as he is while privately saying to his project more sophistication. "One of his weaknesses," Sharp acknowledges, "is that he believes that partisan impression tends to distract from his populist appeal."

Few people—except his family—get beyond that today exterior. Notoriously private, Chrétien depends on Alice, his wife of 28 years, for personal and professional advice. Their daughter, France, is married to Andre Desrosiers, the son of Montreal columnist Paul Desrosiers. Their son Robert operates a Japanese car dealership in Hull. But it is their third child, Michel, an adopted Guinean, who has pushed the private Chrétien into the public eye. Connected to annual events last year in Montreal, Michel is living in Yellowknife with his maternal mother and his appeal is heard. As Chrétien's friend former Manitoba Liberal leader Sharon Carstairs told *Maclean's*: "Never have I admired Jean more than when he sat in that courtroom, day after day, knowing, in the eyes of some, that was going to be a political liability. As far as he was concerned, that was his son and he was not going to desert him."

The party that Chrétien selected in 1990 was in a shambles—broken, dispirited and bereft of ideas. Many did not even like their new leader. Chrétien pulled the warring elements of his party into working together. He organized a 1990 policy conference in Quebec, Que., at which he stated in his party's long-standing tendencies. Under his leadership, the party would call for better spending—not more. And he rejected proposals that he believed were too costly. Said *Maclean's* MP Paul Martin, the campaign's policy coordinator: "He would say, 'no or three times, I don't want to say we're going to do that because I don't know if we can.' The great thing that Jean brought into those discussions is what the limits of government are."

If Chrétien becomes prime minister, he will try to do for the nation what he did for his party. That may be beyond his managerial skills. If he pays too little attention to details, the temptation to spend could overwhelm his government. If he is too cautious, he could leave the bold spontaneous needed in the 1990s. Moreover, his overblown rhetoric makes many Canadians feel even less secure. And Canadians examine the Liberals' programs and promises, they must ask themselves if Chrétien's old-fashioned approach is the solution to tomorrow's problems. □



Chrétien of the 1990 Liberal leadership campaign: "There will always be some people who will want independence. For me, it's a dream."

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McLaughlin, surprisingly upbeat in the face of unbearable odds

The McLaughlin file

The evening tea not long shadowed across the parking lot of the union hall in Thunder Bay, Ont., as Ernest Hryniuk, 55, and George Zarnetsky, 51, stepped to discuss politics. Along with about 250 other area residents, they had come to the Port Arthur Labour Association building to hear New Democratic Party leader Audrey McLaughlin deliver a stump speech on why the New Democrats are the only reliable defenders of moderate and other social programs. But the crowd was expansive, the acoustical loads of approval coming mostly from event organizers. As the crowd began to file out, Hryniuk and Zarnetsky admitted—with the usual resignation that seems to characterize many traditional NDP supporters these days—that they were unimpressed. Hryniuk, a retired police officer, is not sure that a vote for the NDP means much any more. “The Reform party and the Blue Quebecers are parties you can cast your vote for in protest,” Hryniuk said with a wistful grin. “But not the NDP. Not any more.”

The NDP's crash in the public opinion polls in single digits may send the party into political oblivion after Oct. 25 in a desperate attempt to stop the freefall—and regain some of its traditional core constituency—party strategists have switched tactics from free trade and general outrage with the Mulroney years to preserving social

The case was closed, but the NDP leader was fighting gamely for a role in Parliament

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programs, specifically medicine. Eighteen months ago, when the New Democrats were debating their approach to this campaign, there were four possible directions: free trade, not so urgent on jobs, medicine, low taxes and quality public service. Initially, free trade topped the list, because of a strong lobby from Ontario's industrial heartland. But in the last week of September, McLaughlin abandoned the strategy. “The polls showed it wasn't a very interesting issue to the public,” said one disappointed New Democrat. “But some people wanted to fight the 1993 election again.”

Now with the party languishing in fifth place in the polls, the New Democrats might not even manage to elect the 12 seats here of Parliament necessary to guarantee official party status in the House of Commons. Said one worried strategist: “Getting 12 seats would be like almost drowning. We'd be alone, but making representation. At this point, getting 30 seats would be a small victory.”

That concern is not limited to backroom strategists. Outside the union hall, Hryniuk predicted grimly that the NDP would lose more than 30 of its 45 seats. His friend Zarnetsky, a former corrections officer, says that the party has yet to recover from 2004, when it failed to take up the fight against free trade with as much vigor as the Liberals. “They kind of lost their direction,” he adds. “When free trade came up, they

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fainted." Hryciuk says he is against "letting them say all right."

For a leader whose party seems destined for electoral oblivion in less than three weeks, Audrey McLaughlin is surprisingly upbeat. Her speeches are peppered with jokes—she recently brought a reference to Prince Maurice Ron Campbell's promise to throw herself across the railroad tracks to save medicine. "Big deal, considering Tony cuts its train service," the NDP leader remarks dryly. "But it's a good reason to get the train going again." Not as droll as the wit of the NDP's 1988 campaign, when Ed Broadbent saw his dreams of forming the official opposition disappear. Despite current odds and the possibility that McLaughlin will leave her own riding to Liberal Don Cousens, she maintains her poise. "I really am cheerful," the 56-year-old party leader told *Maclean's* last week. "When you go out to these events, you see that people really are counting on you. People care about these issues."

But McLaughlin's style of politics has drawn criticism within her own party. She is more comfortable in small gatherings when chatter and speculation is required, her delivery appears forced and unnatural. That even her biggest detractors do not blame her for the party's poor showing. Her own occasional awkwardness pales in comparison with the political damage inflicted on the national NDP by direct-staple social democratic governments in Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia.

The federal party has failed to lose in British Columbia. That province seat man New Democrats, 59 out of 32 seats, so Ontario in 1988 does any other. It is home to several of the party's biggest stars: Steele Johnson, Nelson Ross and former B.C. premier David Barrett. But the popularity of Premier Mike Harcourt's independent government has accelerated the federal party's downward spiral. This time, any real strategy, B.C. voters may send as few as two New Democrats to Ottawa. And in Ontario, where they now hold one seat, the party has slipped below its past best in recent polls, compared to the 30 per cent of the Ontario vote it claimed in 1985.

Still, McLaughlin perceives "if every time things looked a little tough we said, 'Oh, well, we better hold up and leave now,' we wouldn't have accomplished anything." Although she repeatedly offered to resign from the leadership last summer, she continues to soldier on without complaint. Party president Nancy Richer, for one, says that she is a member by McLaughlin's determination. John Richer, "I wouldn't have blamed her if she had wanted to quit midway through the campaign."

The gently smiling landscape around Harbourside, Sask., is covered by soft yellow stubble. This year's harvest was wet, but on the day of McLaughlin's arrival last week the weather was sunny and mild. George Chernes, 75, and his wife, Caroline, 73, wait outside

the background with 35 loads, are important—but not widely enthusiastic—about McLaughlin's leadership. "I think she's fine. It's what she stands for that I like," says Caroline. George looks defeat and adds "As far as I am concerned, I am NDP."

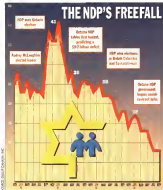
But not everyone in Saskatchewan—the birthplace of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, precursor to the NDP—has remained as loyal as the Chernes. New Democrat Barry Haldeman, 44, a local lawyer and town councillor who is running to replace the NDP's retiring Stan Horton, says the federal party is gaining a foothold among "people who have bought into the idea that the whole system is rotten and Reform is a catch-phrase."

When McLaughlin completed her 18-month tour of the planet, she delivers a speech to the assembled voters and workers about the value of small business and environmental technology. Afterward, she invites questions. Journalists crowd around, but only one question is asked: A new poll suggests that if current trade pacts, the NDP will take fewer than 30 seats in a election day. McLaughlin's face brightens. "We will wait for the 23rd of October," she says firmly.

In Timmins, Ont., New Democrat MP Cal Semon expresses confidence that he can hold onto the seat he won in 1986. While the riding has historically voted either Liberal or New Democrat, it went to the Conservatives in 1984. That time around, Semon claims that he is running "far ahead of the national polls." Still, he is lulled by

the party's overall standing. "I honestly don't know why we're so low nationally," he says. "It is the fact that the middle class is becoming so simple. When the New Democrats were elected to form three provincial governments, they gained legitimacy but lost much of their momentum. As one then-stagnant party, 'The NDP used to be something special. Now we have become just another party that says one thing in opposition and does another in government.' Just when New Democrats started to be breaking into the ranks of the political establishment, voters seem to have decided that membership in that club is no longer socially acceptable."

NANCY WOOD in Saskatoon with CHUCK BROWN in Vancouver



Where the major players stand

JOBS AND THE ECONOMY

DEFICIT REDUCTION

SOCIAL PROGRAMS

HEALTH CARE

NATIONAL UNITY



Jean Chrétien says that he understands what Canadians are looking for. "They want us to create jobs." To that end, Chrétien envisions a two-year \$9-billion public works program that he claims could create more than 100,000 jobs. But the government would undertake only a third of the cost; the program would go ahead only if provincial and municipal governments came along with the rest. Critics say this would lead to higher taxes.

Chrétien promises moderate cuts to reduce the deficit to about three per cent of gross domestic product over four years, from the current 5.2 per cent. But the Liberal plan is based in part on projections in last April's federal budget that the economy will grow by an average of 4.5 per cent a year—a forecast that most economists now consider far too optimistic. Chrétien claims that his plan would not require cuts to social programs.

Chrétien promises to maintain, and in some cases modestly increase, federal funding for social programs. For every year in which economic growth exceeded three per cent, the Liberals would create 50,000 new child care spaces. As well, Ottawa would not unilaterally reduce transfer payments to the provinces for social programs. He has not offered to reverse cuts made by successive Liberal and Tory governments over the past 15 years.

The federal government, the Liberals say, should continue to set national standards for health care and to prohibit user fees. In Chrétien's words, he wants to preserve a medicine system where "if we go to a hospital, it's not because we're rich, it's because we're Canadian citizens and we're sick." However, Chrétien says that as prime minister he would chair a national forum to discuss new ways to control health costs.

Chrétien says that separatists have always been a fact of life in his home province—and he probably always will be. As an unapologetic federalist, he says that he is in a strong position to fight any future separatist government in Quebec. "I know Quebecers," he says. "They are very proud of being Quebecers, but they are very happy to be part of Canada and they don't want basically to secede."



Kim Campbell has consistently rejected the idea that governments, acting on their own, can create jobs. Instead, she stresses "the importance of getting the fundamentals right," which she says will encourage increased employment in the private sector in addition to reducing the federal deficit and removing dead barriers. Campbell wants to help private workers to take advantage of high-skilled jobs as they become available.

Campbell has had difficulty defending her plan for deficit reduction. She claims that \$8 billion in new spending cuts will do it as since previous cuts and economic growth projections contained in last April's budget would reduce this year's forecasted deficit of \$32.6 billion to \$8 billion by 1997-1998. But her own revenue minister says that in that fiscal year alone the deficit may be \$3 billion higher than projected.

Campbell promises to reform a number of social programs to make them more efficient. And she insists that she can achieve her deficit targets without cutting the overall funding for social programs or raising taxes. But the Prime Minister has declined to respond in detail to unpublished federal studies that conclude that Ottawa can no longer afford the \$57.4 billion a year in transfers to provinces and individuals.

Campbell says that she would be willing to show herself "across the railway tracks" to preserve universal health care. She says that she is opposed to user fees for "truly medically necessary services"—but has failed to define what that includes. Campbell promises to maintain adequate funding for health care, even though the Tories have effectively reduced the amount of money Ottawa gives to the provinces for health care.

The defeat of the Meech Lake and Charlottetown constitutional accords—both of which Campbell strongly supported—cost the Tories support among nationalists. Quebecers and left the party without a co-brand policy on national unity. Campbell now speaks a variety of Quebecers feeling alienated because of "the sense that government is not at the service of the people."



Andrew McLaughlin says that the key to economic recovery and deficit reduction is to ensure that Canadians are working and paying taxes. She claims her party can create 500,000 jobs over five years by scrapping the old, doubling deposit savings and establish a \$50-billion investment fund for fledgling businesses. She would also help up the 1999 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, which she claims has cost Canada 400,000 jobs.

McLaughlin says that the NDP would reduce the deficit by about \$11 billion over five years. During that same period, however, she proposes billions of dollars in new spending programs and promises only one major spending cut, chopping the defence budget by \$9.4 billion. To help achieve her deficit target, she says, she would impose a minimum 24-per-cent corporate tax, and higher taxes on those who earn more than \$300,000.

McLaughlin promises stable long-term federal funding to the provinces to help pay for social programs. She is also promising a national child care program that would increase the number of available spaces to 400,000, an expanded system of loans for university students, and a \$100-million program to construct new housing.

According to McLaughlin, she is the only party leader who can be trusted to preserve and fully fund universal health care. At the same time, she says her party will attempt to control costs by emphasizing preventive medicine and reducing "Tory-dependent" expenditure that enables a leader to cheapen generalists to enter the market.

McLaughlin has not made clear how she would deal with the election of a separatist government in Quebec. She says that Canadians, including Quebecers, are tired of constitutional bickering and that the key to keeping the country together is reducing unemployment and maintaining universal social programs.



According to Preston Manning, "There is an organic connection between the deficit and job creation." Reform's plan to eliminate the federal deficit within three years, he says, will lead to lower taxes and increased investor confidence—both of which should spur job creation. Until the economy improves, Manning says, the number of immigrants that Canada accepts each year should drop from 250,000 to between 200,000 and 150,000.

Manning claims that only Reformers have "the guts and the brains" to eliminate the deficit within three years. The recipe: \$29 billion in spending cuts and \$26.5 billion in new tax revenue generated by an annual projected growth rate of 3.5 per cent. More striking is Manning's plan to cut social programs—reducing federal contributions for unemployment insurance, welfare and old age security benefits by \$9 billion.

Manning argues that Canadians will have to sacrifice some universal social programs in order to free up funds to preserve those that they value most, including medicine. He claims that he can save \$3.5 billion by eliminating old-age security benefits for households receiving more than The Canadian average family income of \$54,000 a year. Critics say there are not enough wealthy seniors to replace such a saving.

Manning promises to maintain federal funding for health care "at current levels or even higher." But he would also give provinces the freedom to develop and fund medicine as they see fit, including the right to allow user fees and other billing. He insists that his proposals are intended to save, not sacrifice, the principle of universal health care. However, critics charge that this could limit the accessibility and portability of medicine.

Manning wants to deny Quebec separatists the "soft, mushy ground of sovereignty rhetoric." Quebecers, he says, must choose between staying in Canada with no special status or leaving Confederation without any assurance of a continued economic lifeline, including a government guarantee in return for accepting his "new federalism." Manning would give all provinces exclusive control over language and culture.



Lucien Bouchard wants Ottawa to cut spending on existing programs by \$2 billion and place back half of that into job creation programs. He also complains that Canada is "the most overpopulated country in the world," noting that Ottawa currently manages 27 programs in the field of manpower training, while Quebec can serve another 25. Bouchard demands that Quebec gain full control over job training.

Bouchard claims that Ottawa could save \$6 billion by eliminating unemployment benefits. Another \$3 billion would come from defence cuts and \$1 billion by giving Quebec control over job training. He would also crack down on cigarette smugglers and close tax loopholes. If Quebec secedes, he suggests, it will accept responsibility for only 18 per cent of the national debt—even though it has 26 per cent of Canada's population.

Bouchard has called on Ottawa to preserve existing levels of transfer payments to the provinces for social programs. He also wants federal taxes reduced for families, especially those with two or more children. The Bloc favors a new income support system to replace welfare, unemployment insurance and child tax credits.

Bouchard says that he supports universal health care and opposes user fees for essential services. But while he wants Ottawa to preserve federal funding for residents, he agrees with Manning that the provinces should have unfettered control over the way services are provided. This would include if they set costs, the right to impose user fees.

According to Bouchard, the failure of the Meech Lake and the Charlottetown constitutional accords leaves Quebec with only one option: sovereignty. But like his provincial counterpart, Paul Giguère (Bloc leader Jacques Parizeau), the Bloc leader foresees a continuing economic association between Quebec and Canada, including the free circulation of people, goods, capital and services, as well as a common currency.

ent veterans of coffee, sat Kim Shields, a 44-year-old computer systems analyst, who ran find on 15 occasional work. At the next table was Nigel Rhodes, 44, a mortgage broker who admitted that he was in the coffee shop because business is slow. They stuck up a conversation about the debate. Said Rhodes: "I don't drink it was the biggest factor to allow Jacques Charest up there to advocate the destruction of Canada." Shields replied that he usually went to the coffee shop but will note this time for the Reform party's Hugh Pickering. A clerk of Montreal asked, "I like the fact that Premier Manning has come up with sensible principles like accountability in government. It's the only one discussing economy in this election. Every one else is avoiding the subject."

A few doors down the street, Sandy Day, 33, an owner at a clothing store and a new mother, sat in the late afternoon with her baby on a bench outside a coffee shop. "I usually note NDP but now I'm thinking there's no point although I read by Mike Andrey McLaughlin," said Day. She trusts Liberal leader Jean Chrétien, whose candidate



ONTARIO

TOTAL SEATS: 69

LAST ELECTION: 48 PC, 47 Lib, 10 NDP

RACES TO WATCH: Simon Mart—Public Security Minister Doug Lewis, who has represented the riding since 1970, is in a three-way fight against Reform candidate Ray Lyons and Liberal Paul Davies. Ontario—the NDP is its largest better since 1988, when for over a decade it has been first in the riding, but incumbent Mike Sweeney is expected to win on 38, Paul's Reform candidate Paul Drapkin is a third on the free vote. It is supposed to give on Tony Iacobucci and Liberal Barry Campbell in this riding held by Reform Tory cabinet minister Brian Mulroney. The Liberals are heavily favored in the province, but Reform is showing new strength.

PRAIRIES AND TERRITORIES

TOTAL SEATS: 57

Manitoba—34
Saskatchewan—14
Alberta—26
Yukon—3
N.W.T.—2

LAST ELECTION

Manitoba—7 PC, 5 Lib., 2 NRP
Saskatchewan—10 NRP, 4 PC
Alberta—25 PC, 1 NRP
Yukon—1 NRP
N.W.T.—2 Lib.

RACES TO WATCH

Southwest—Reform Leader Preston Manning confronts incumbent Federal Energy Minister Bobbie Sparrow, Calgary West—incumbent Tony Janz—wakes up with critics after supporting a bill on election non-financial—opposition will elect former Prime Minister Joe Clark's main in the latest poll. Reform leads in Alberta, the Liberals in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

PHOTO BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

and Stephenson, "It is a tradition in my country." But for Stephenson, the fact that others in his town the fact may have some for change.

"Most of the younger people seem to be going to the Reform party," Stephenson said, having watched parts of last week's TV debate. "Campbell was the loser. The alternative is Reform," Stephenson admitted that nothing he saw on TV had changed his mind. "It's not for me," he said, but he is capable and has character." He is a well-known doctor who lives in nearby Okotoks, is the Reform candidate in the sprawling Marled riding that runs west and south of Calgary almost to the Manitoba border.

He is a young man, a 35-year-old mother of two. She was at a picnic table in New South Park, a site of green space stretching from Queen Street to the lake. The grass is filled with worms and the air is filled with playground sounds. "Kim Campbell reminded me of a terrorist," declared Morrison. "She is a very aggressive woman. She and she'd eliminate the deficit in five years but I don't believe that." On the other hand, Morrison said she was "totally Edgington" by McLaughlin's strong performance, but would

MACLEOD (ALBERTA)

Tories under siege

It is high noon in high fever. To the west, the foothills of the Rockies reflect the bluish heat haze of a classic Indian summer that has sent the mercury into the mid 30s. At the century old Bradley's Western Wear and Saddlery, owner Bruce Stephenson sits at a customer with a deep tanned western hat. Nearby, on a wooden display case was a hat tied to the wall and used by the great uncle of Joe Clark, home town boy and reform minister. "Lots of tourists talk about Joe,"

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Image Phone 1992 First PBX to use



MSB technology, DEFINITY™ Communications

Systems G3 1989 First cordless phone



integrated with multiple business systems, MERLIN™

Cordless 1985 First applications for voice recog-

nition **CONVERSANT** CONVERSANT™ Voice



Processing Systems Group 1962 First international



communications satellite, Teletax, by

NASA/AT&T 1958 First laser 1956 First trans-

atlantic cable 1954 First solar cell 1947 First transistor Nobel Prize (invention from AT&T Bell)

Labo 1929 First color television demonstration 1879 First commercial PBX in service

1876 First intelligible speech transmission Alexander



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HARRY REBATE ENDS DECEMBER 31, 1993

Makita



COVER

voted Tory in recent elections but remains undecided this time. "The only person with any compass was our guy Proxima Manning."

But, insurance director Lynn Cartwright remains a Tory believer. A former aide to once-

best MP Tony Kim Hughes, she said: "Nothing I saw in the debates changed how I will vote. Campbell is going to deal with problems differently."

In the summer's Whistle Stop Cafe, a converted CFB dining car parked on a siding, waitress Jill Morrison, wearing hot pink Bermuda shorts, served a trout and cornmeal soup. "That old Proxima Manning held his cock," and Morrison, who watched the debate while doing the laundry wash. "But I'm not changing. I've always been a dyed-in-the-wool Tory."

Across the railroad tracks in 3rd Avenue's Roundhead Mill, Evelyn Seymour, who with her husband, Scott, owns the Work World clothing store, complained of "anarchy." Tory spending. Initially she supported Campbell. Now, "I'm thinking towards Reform."

Neighbor Lynn Marshall, a secondhand furniture dealer, and the debate held no surprise. "I'm leaning towards Liberals. They might have a

plan to rid us of the cock." What ruffled Marshall is "Kim Campbell's inability to say how she will run the country."

Joel Nash and husband, Lynn, own the Quill office and art supplies store and watched every minute of the debate. Three years ago, after hearing Proxima Manning talk on minority government, she joined the Reform party. "The deficit is killing us," said Nash. "The old-line parties don't have a solution." In an editorial in last week's *High River Times*, founded in 1905 by Joe Clark's grandfather, publisher Bill Holmes wrote: "It's time for change but don't look for the Grin or Tories to deliver it. What the government needs is reform."

NORTH VANCOUVER (BRITISH COLUMBIA)

Liberals versus Reform

In a dory suspended from drifts overlooking a wharf, the

pen-jacketed old smoker seems literally unaware that a near political crisis has overtaken the nation. But then, the maniacal decorating the boardwalk of Moody Vancouver's Lonsdale Quay does not have to cost a ballot on Oct. 25. That chore falls to the thousands of people who daily stream past on their way to and from the ferries to downtown Vancouver. And few of those interviewed by *Maclean's* said that the leadership debate made their choice any clearer. All that Peter Mechtenau, an industrial chemical salesman, would say was "I now know who will absolutely not get my vote." Of Mechtenau's list after the debate, Prime Minister Campbell and Reform's Proxima Manning.

But Mechtenau's judgment was far from universal. Reform's Saskatchewan farmers Edward and Martin Krill, who left the prime for the farmers' that claim from Bernard Laidt to wards the distant summit of Mount Seymour, came away more convinced than ever that Campbell will get their support.

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COVER

Still, it seems unlikely that North Vancouver's 65,000 voters will send another Tory to Ottawa, although they have

done so in four elections since 1979—and enjoyed substantial prosperity under the Conservatives. The workshops of the former Verruade Pacific shipyard, visible from Lonsdale Quay, are shattered and idle but unemployment locally is below the provincial average and incomes are above.

Even so, local voters have filled with other parties in the past. The riding was won in 72 contests by the fledgling Reform party in the 1888 election when it got almost nine per cent of the vote. This time, Reform and the Liberals are clearly the main contenders. Monksblum Roberts Thurgay, who manages the information and lobby work of the roadside Quay Market's north end, sought reassurance from the debate as her decision to vote Liberal "After two hours

Other reactions were also contradictory. Carolyn Little, who manages a bakery, was impressed by Manning but plans to

For the last couple of years, left like Canada was slipping away," she said. "He reminds me of Canada." Accountant Brent Peterson was un-

perused by Manning's TV performance but plans to vote Reform anyway. "It seems like the only party that wants to make a real change," he said.

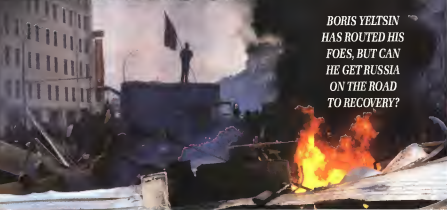
For a few of those shopping, strolling or waiting for a ferry to Lunenburg Quay last week, the real significance of the debate lay in who was absent. Newfoundlander Thomas and Karen Lang wished that National Party of Canada leader Mel Hartwig had been included. Without him, said Harris, the debate simply "transformed our opinion that there's all kinds of..."

Alienation was widely shared. Robert Star, marketing director for a B.C. mining company, said of the candidates: "They stand up there and say, 'Trust me.' But I don't have any faith left." It was a widespread and revealing sentiment, as bleak as the grey drizzle falling on the curved form of the sleeping sailor.

JOHN DELMONTE in *Lawrence*
BARRY CAME in *Portraits*
DANIEL JENSEN in *Thru*
JOHN BROWNE in *High Rise* and
CHRIS WOOD in *North Vancouver*



AFTER BLOODY MONDAY



**BORIS YELTSIN
HAS ROUTED HIS
FOES, BUT CAN
HE GET RUSSIA
ON THE ROAD
TO RECOVERY?**

**On Moscow's birthday
the world is watching**

ing prosecution, he swept his fellow Russians not to think in terms of winners and losers. The official death toll from the two days of fighting stood at 183 at the end of the week. Declaring Oct. 3 a national day of mourning for the dead on both sides of the conflict, Yeltsin said of the casualties: "However different their convictions may have been, all of them were Russia's children. It is our common tragedy."

But those words of reconciliation only underlined the fact that it was Yeltsin who had emerged the clear winner—in the short term at least—from the worst election to sweep Moscow since the 1917 October Revolution. Even so, while public opinion polls showed widespread approval of the government's use of force, many Russians were appalled at the bloodshed and criticized Yeltsin for not making a greater effort to find common ground with his opponents. Igor Seleznev, chairman of a Moscow-based brokerage and investment firm, claimed that all Yeltsin had to do was agree to the rebel hardliners' demand for presidential elections at the same time as the parliamentary vote. Said Seleznev: "This campaign could have been prevented."

Excluding simultaneous elections, Yeltsin did agree to face the voters next June, two years short of his five-year mandate. In promising the December parliamentary election, he may have created a promise that he cannot control. His reputation of being not so much a shrewd politician as a shrewd tactician, there is not enough time available to arrange a truly democratic vote. As a tactical concession, his next election will be a boundary line for the new 650-seat duma, or assembly. Apart from the rough divide between democratic and pro-Communist slogans, there are few political organizations ready to fight an election. And of those parties in existence, Yeltsin supporters have been openly proving for advantages, but will form organizations led by such presidential allies as Yegor Gdard, the architect of the government's economic reform programs. Similarly, Yeltsin allies are urging him to confine banning the Communists and nationalists from participating in the elections—advocates that most moderate politicians describe as "Western strategy" to pick the new assembly with Yeltsin sympathizers. Said Valeri Khramovskoy, co-chairman of the country Democratic party: "We cannot only

World Notes

HELP FOR HAITI

The first of 500 UNDP officers arrived in Haiti to help pave the way for the return of ousted president Jean-Bertrand Aristide on Oct. 30. They are part of a UN peacekeeping force, including 730 soldiers under the command of U.S. Col. Gregg Polley and 557 policemen led by UNDP-Sgt. Jacques Lamy. The peacekeepers are expected to reform the Haitian army and help create a civilian police force to replace the current security apparatus.

SHUTTO RETURNS

In Pakistan's third legislative elections in five years, former prime minister Benazir Bhutto's liberal Pakistan People's Party drew the most votes, taking 55 seats in the 217-seat National Assembly, well short of a majority. The conservative Pakistan Muslim League was second with 72 seats. Bhutto, 49, began talks with leaders of smaller parties and independents in an attempt to form a government. She became the first woman leader of a modern Muslim state in 1986, but her government was dissolved 20 months later on corruption charges.

ADVANCING PEACE

At a meeting in Cairo, Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestinian Yasser Arafat announced that detailed negotiations on Palestinian self-rule, signed last month in Washington, would start on Oct. 12. Among other topics, Rabin and Arafat discussed the appointment of a committee to oversee the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Gaza Strip and West Bank. Back towns of Jericho, where Palestinians will first receive autonomy.

A NUCLEAR SETBACK

Croat explained a nuclear device, including a call for an arms pact. Clinton had hoped to sign a world-wide convention on underground testing while a formal treaty was negotiated. In response, Clinton directed the department of energy to prepare for a possible resumption of U.S. nuclear testing next year.

ENDING SANCTIONS

The United Nations lifted almost all economic sanctions against South Africa. The General Assembly also decided to scrap an oil embargo as soon as South Africa's "Joint Transition and Reconciliation Council," a new negotiating body, becomes operational, perhaps as early as next month.

Street clashes between riot police and pro-Communist demonstrators armed with bricks and steel bars. Riot-drummers were heard to be shouting through the night as an armed rebel attempt to seize Moscow's national broadcasting center. A state of emergency in the Russian capital and there, finally, soldiers attacking the legislature and crushing hardline opponents of President Boris Yeltsin. To many Russians there was a bleak, historical inevitability to the violence that left hundreds dead and wounded in Moscow last week. After two dreary years of despotism (what power), after force had decided a struggle for political supremacy took the form of 125 can shells reduced much of the 17-story parliament building, the White House, to charred ruins. But at home and abroad, Yeltsin's supporters and critics alike were uncertain about the lasting effects of the latest October upheaval. Was Russia once again under a dictatorship, however benevolent? And would



ASSIGNMENT
MALCOLM GRAY
IN MOSCOW

Yeltsin's victory in Moscow check—or has this been the country's slide towards political demagoguery?

Western leaders who have endorsed Yeltsin as Russia's best hope for democracy and economic reform worried nervously last week as his government shut down Puslov and 12 other hardline or authoritarian newspapers. And in a replay of his actions after the collapse of the 1991 putsch in Moscow, Yeltsin banned the Communist party as well as any other extremist or nationalist groups. But to play the lives of concerned observers and to firm up his backing for the difficult task ahead, the Russian president went on

national television two days after the storming of the White House. Appearing tense and still hot-headed finally, he insisted that his use of force had in fact preserved the country's fragile democracy and outgassed the flames of civil war. Yeltsin attacked the hardline by decree was transparent, a rough but necessary desire on the country's rocky road to constitution. And in a related message that was clearly aimed to address Western fears about renewed dictatorship in Russia, Yeltsin promised that elections for a new state assembly to replace the dissolved parliament would take place as scheduled on Dec. 11 and 12.

Publicly, Western leaders supported Yeltsin's use of force. British Prime Minister John Major even argued that the Russian leader had shown admirable restraint in not seeking in the tanks before he did. But some long followers of Russian affairs worried again that the West may be repeating the mistake that it had made with former Soviet

leader Mikhail Gorbachev, giving its focus on a single individual. Said Conservative MP David Howell, chairman of the House of Commons foreign affairs committee: "We should back Mr. Yeltsin because he is the path to democracy and stability, and not because we think he is a nice guy." And some analysts questioned whether Yeltsin's defeat of Communist hardliners would in fact translate into greater democratization. "We may see the emergence of some kind of benevolent dictatorship," said Werner Hubner, a former Gorbachev adviser who now teaches economics at Carleton College in Ottawa, Wis. "I believe Yeltsin will use his victory to try to gather more central power. There will be less democracy, not more democracy."

Even with snide from the White House since still hanging in the air, Yeltsin tried to calm the passions that could make governing all the more difficult in the aftermath of Bloody Monday. With more than 1,200 of his toughest adversaries locked away and most



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Letter from Moscow Frontline spectators

The blood-chick patting cigarettes and candy bars through the service window of a sidewalk kiosk was calm and matter-of-fact. "It's been quiet here since we opened at 9 o'clock this morning," said 25-year-old Anna Lyashenko as she turned to serve a customer who was trying to choose between *The Godfather* or *Police Academy 3* from her selection of pirated, Russian-language video cassettes. Then in Moscow, a city that has endured much since the 1991 civil war of confusion, that statement and those transactions were little short of surreal last week. Only a few hundred metres away was the white marble bulk of the Russian legislature, the White House, where soldiers loyal to Boris Yeltsin were laying siege to a building held by die-hard opponents of the Russian president. Then in Lyashenko's quiet, the deafening sounds of gunfire filled the air. But no stray rounds pierced the thin, misty veil of the last outpost of resistance before the battlefield. "Things are much better down the street," Lyashenko said, pointing towards the nearby Kaluzhskiy Bridge. "Only crazy people would go up there."

Hundreds of people did. An automatic rifle fire crackled constantly from the army positions less than 100 m away and from the imposing building beyond that, spectators were told shudder to shudder along the bridge railings or path crisscrossed four 7-12 battle tanks that were parked halfway across the span. Most of the onlookers were walk-in shoppers and men in their twenties. Some pulled on cigarettes, others pulled on bottles of beer and most appeared unfazed by the flashes of light working from the bullet-holed windows of the 17-story building in front of them: the swarming fire from the defenders of the White House.

While stray sounds raged through the air, some people strolled near the lighter with dogs—and even children—in tow. "We came here when the camp happened in 1993," said Marat Shisholev, a 30-year-old engineer who stood in full view of the burning parliament. With her, squinting with excitement, were her 12-year-old niece, Alina, and her son, 7. "I don't like that it was dangerous to have them so close to the action," I warned them to see what was happening to their country," shrugged Shisholev. "I'm fed up with our political leaders."

Joining the roadside spectators was easy. With no Moscow policemen in sight, only a single soldier at one end of the bridge tried to



Passers watch the siege of the White House from a bridge 'view'

keep thrill seekers away by granting reluctantly with his sub-machinegun. But no one blocked the way to a nearby side street where a flight of stone steps led directly to those steps led directly to the bridge surface. There, people stood in the unseasonably warm sun shade, watching soldiers storming the national legislature. "Russians are killing Russians," said a sad-faced elderly man clutching a black plastic briefcase across his chest. "This is not a victory but a tragedy for our city, our country."

When the T-70s suddenly opened fire with sharp cracks, many people surged back towards the steps, uncertain whether their position was becoming a target. As some struggled to get down the stairs, others were running up to see the action. "Excellent!" exclaimed one teenage Russian boy wearing a Los Angeles Kings hockey jacket. "This is better than the movies." He showed

to a friend as black smoke began to curl up the front of the White House.

But the blood and the casualties were real enough. Several onlookers were hit by bullets. Some foreigners were also caught up in the violence. My lawyer wife, Carol Paterson, and other staff at the Moscow offices of the international law firm Baker & McKenzie Ltd., four kilometres from the fighting, were at a bank nearby

'This is not a victory but a tragedy for our country'

phone at 11:30 a.m. and learned that one of the firm's paralegals had been badly wounded. Julie Brooks, a 23-year-old American, had gone up to the roof of her 30-story apartment building to view the scene three blocks away at the White House. And so she made her way down a fire escape, someone shot her—probably a sniper, because she was hit in the back by two bullets fired in quick succession.

After two days of treatment for massive internal injuries in Moscow's Botkin hospital, Brooks was evacuated by air ambulance to the Finnish capital of Helsinki, where she remained in critical but stable condition. Here is among the hundreds of individual stories of sorrow from the latest chapter of Russia's bleak and bloody history.

MALCOLM GRANT

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DON'T LET THIS CHANCE FLY BY



McDonald's in Moscow: It took 10 years of negotiations to open the first outlet



'The wild, wild east'

Russia offers a special challenge to Canadian investors

Doing business in Russia can be difficult at the best of times, but nothing James Wade encountered in three years of crisscrossing the former Soviet Union prepared him for the cataclysmic events he witnessed in Moscow last week. From the ninth floor of the Ukraine Hotel, only 500 m from the Russian parliament, the Canadian engineer watched as thick black smoke billowed from the imposing white building while government troops assaulted rebel parliamentarians inside. Wade, president of a small oil and gas company, Maribana, Oil-based Blends Corporation, was even closer than the television cameras of CNN, which were in number building 200 m behind the Ukraine. "The whole hotel shook and we were confined inside for most of the day," Wade recalled. "Everyone was quite calm though, and around 2 p.m. shortly after the hard loans commenced, we were able to go outside for a walk." The shoot-out between the forces of reform-minded President Boris Yeltsin and renegade conservatives reverberated around the world, but for Wade it was only a temporary interruption in his busy job. "Our clients missed the next day and there is no thought of losing"

he said. "We are here for the long term." This kind of determination is shared by a wide range of Canadian executives with capital or operating businesses in Russia. Drawn to the former Soviet Union by the lure of abundant natural resources and a recently expanded consumer market of almost 300 million people, most Canadian investors have struggled for years to establish joint ventures with partners in Russia and surrounding states such as Ukraine and oil-rich Kazakhstan. Since the late 1980s, Canadian companies have helped create between 500 and 300 joint enterprises—ranging from oil and gas to the former Soviet Union. Total Canadian investment rose to about \$600 million last year, up from about \$20 million in 1985. Those figures are just in domestic. For the first seven months of 1993, Canadian exports to Russia reached \$165 million, up from \$80.5 million for the same period in 1992. Said David Brown, an Ottawa businessman in the midst of establishing a company that will service foreign cities in Moscow "This is one of the hot great frontiers."

For most Canadian investors, however, establishing a foothold in former Communist nations that are still struggling towards poli-

tical stability has been a daunting experience. Many entrepreneurs visit, talk and then leave, overwhelmed by obstacles such as a wildly fluctuating currency with severe limits on its convertibility. Others fell at frustrating meetings with partners who do not understand Western business practices. A precarious political climate in which corrupt politicians and regulations change overnight also hampers operations.

But few among those already there are willing to withdraw without a fight. Some even claim that events such as last week's showdown, with its clear resolution in favor of Yeltsin, was a welcome step towards greater stability. Christopher Allmon, formerly a lecturer at the University of Western Ontario specializing in Russian post-warism, is now an Ottawa-based development consultant for the World Bank. "You can operate better in a hostile but stable environment than you can in an unstable one," Allmon said. "If Yeltsin is able to consolidate the economic reforms he has been trying to bring in for the last two years, then it's a positive move."

That, in fact, is the vital question that has hung over the region since the Soviet Union disintegrated as December, 1991. Early that year, Yeltsin decided to implement his version of so-called shock therapy to convert Russia's inefficient, seven-decade-old Communist economic system into a free market, almost overnight. On Jan. 2, 1992, most prices were liberalized, with experts predicting that a flood of entrepreneurs would lower prices through intense competition. But change was haphazard, with prices shooting up—some to more than 10 times their previous levels—while the government kept a strict low artificially low for political reasons. In the past, expensive bread and vodka so-called staples have gone hand in hand as



Hello?

Hey Bob

Course I'm whispering.
I'm at the library

No, no, that's okay
It didn't actually ring.

I know it rang,
it just didn't ring.

Never mind

Let's just say I had
a feeling you'd call.



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Russia. To meet the soaring demand for rubles, the central bank printed so much money that, at one point, it ran out of paper for bank notes. Hyperinflation followed and there is no doubt that many Russians are relieved to shirk desperate controls on some areas, food costs since new accounts for some 50 per cent of the average income.

The rapid move to private ownership is a surprise, especially to the growth of an increased economic controls, referred to by Russians as "the Mafia." At first, privaters of the former state employees, capitalized on inside knowledge of upcoming sales of key government assets. They seized the properties at low prices and then resold or leased to the

companies because it is almost unconvertible outside Russia and can only be exchanged at regular bank auctions where its value cannot be predicted. With Russians eagerly lining up to pay 1,100 rubles (about \$1) for a typical model of a hamburger, French fries and tea, the private state has no shortage of local currency. Some is used to pay its Russian suppliers and more than 3,500 employees. With the rest, the company is making surprisingly good returns, including the purchase of real estate. The joint venture Masov-McDonald's now owns a 10-story office building in downtown Moscow which it rents out to large foreign companies that pay in foreign currencies.

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Refinery at Anzhero, Russia, where Eltech has work - opened access to undeveloped resources

highest bid. Later, privatisation slowed, and in a frantic effort to restore order, Masov has passed a series of laws that are frequently contradictory. Led Larry Black, director of the Centre for Canada and the Soviet Republics at Carleton University. "It's an incredible mess. Even their own experts don't know fully what is going on. Not surprisingly, that makes foreign investment extremely cautious."

Such political and economic chaos means that Western companies looking for quick profits in Russia are likely to be disappointed. Many entrepreneurs, like Eltech's Wade, suspect that they are prepared to wait and to build their business slowly. McDonald's Restaurants of Canada Ltd. negotiated the new Bani's deal before opening its first, 100-seat restaurant at Moscow's Pushkin Square in early 1990. Although the hamburger giant has plans for at least 20 more outlets in Moscow, so far there are only three.

McDonald's is one of the few foreign businesses that sell all of its products for rubles. The currency is unconvertible to many foreign

businesses with hard currency. David Masov, who owns a Canadian Tire dealership in Ottawa, knows this. But in Moscow, where there are now General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler dealerships, there is little support in the regime of foreign vehicles. Earlier this year, Eltech entered into a joint venture with Russian partners who own an auto repair facility in Moscow, and next month he expects to begin offering a car repair service for customers with foreign-made cars—and foreign cash. Eltech and his partners have already made more than \$1 million into the project. Said Eltech, who acknowledges that his venture is high-risk. "If we expect them to take this business from their own people in capitalism, then you give them more."

For many investors, the best way to realize a return is to export new materials for resale at international markets. This technique is favored by Canadian oil and gas companies which, so far, have received about \$250 million from relatively small companies such as Wade's Eltech, can make a profit by pro-

viding expertise and equipment to help the Russians extract and market badly needed energy resources. Although Wade has already spent more than a year establishing a joint venture that is not likely to begin production of oil and gas until late next year, he says that he is not discouraged. "There is nowhere else in the world where a small company like ours can gain access to undeveloped resources," said Wade. "The potential here is enormous."

But for almost every company searching for the pot of gold in Russia there is a seemingly endless series of pitfalls. John Howell, a specialist in Eastern Europe at international accounting firm Ernst & Young in London, says that conventional bank financing for Russian joint ventures is almost impossible to obtain. In fact, Howell says, because of the political instability, it is probable that some foreign capital has fled Russia in the last year than has gone in. Skyrocketing costs and legal uncertainties have also frightened investors. One Canadian business owner, who requested anonymity, spent thousands of dollars to rent an office space in Moscow, only to have it violently repudiated. "Just as we were in making the deal done, secretly the assets showed up and refused to accept," he said. "We were caught in a fierce court case. Later we learned of the murder of one of the assets. We don't know if it was connected, but we decided to write it off and get out."

According to Ottawa consultant Allanson, that vicious chaos is not surprising, given the hardship that many Russians live on a daily basis. "It's simple," he explained. "If you can't feed your family, you will do anything to get hard currency. It's well past the stage of desperate. Now, it's the wild wild west."

At least one large Canadian company has decided to leave, if only temporarily. In August, 1992, Bell Canada International Inc. of Montreal announced that it had ended a joint venture agreement with Masov's Eltech. Telephone Co. to modernize the city's failing network of analog telephones. But by May of this year, BCI and its Russian partners decided not to proceed, partly because of a lack of agreement over sharing of the \$150-million investment by BCI. "Of course we are disappointed," said BCI spokesman Jean-Paul Chretien. "The process is very slow." With a desperate population faced by crime, drugs, and political uncertainty, it is little wonder that not everything works well in the former Soviet Union. It is only a wonder that anything works at all.

PATRICIA CHAGOLIAN with PHILIP HEDDER in Moscow

SOMALIA

Casualties of war

As a signal of support for his son, Leon Durant died a yellow ribbon in the front door of his house in the little mill town of Berlin, N.H. And choking back emotion, he thought again about the videotape of 32-year-old Chief Warrant Officer Michael Durant of the U.S. 303rd Special Operations Aviation Regiment. The tape, played repeatedly on TV newsweeklies last week, showed the younger Durant battered and dazed, a hostage of Somalia's loyal to mosque Mogadishu warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid. Settling against a wall, a blanket over his legs, Durant is seen telling an off-camera interviewer "I'm a soldier, I have to do what I'm told." The pilot of a Black Hawk helicopter brought down by gunfire in the Somali capital, Durant is clearly hurting. Said his father "He looks scared. He has a black eye and some cuts. We could see dirt on his face. Nothing prepares you for something like this."

For millions of Americans, the captured pilot put a human face to what has become a major foreign policy crisis for President Bill

Clinton. The crisis erupted last week when Durant was captured and at least 15 other Americans were killed and 76 wounded in a bloody battle with Aidid's troops in downtown Mogadishu. Another disasterting TV image showed Somalia dragging the battered corpse of one American serviceman through the city's dusty streets. Congress was in turmoil: some members demanded a hasty retreat while others worried about taking the war to America's reputation.

Clinton's reputation if the President orders the Pentagon to "cut and run." But the debate showed signs of subsiding as Clinton sent more troops to Somalia as well as clamped a six-month deadline on the operation—and Aidid said he was interested in negotiating a ceasefire.

In the midst of the anger and frustration, Clinton was being blamed for a failure to clarify his policy and purpose in Somalia. Last December, then-President George

Bush sent the first American troops to the Horn of Africa nation. Their mission, as part of a UN force, was to ensure that food supplies reached millions of starving Somalis caught in the middle of a ruthless civil war that since then, with the food distribution problem largely solved, the threat of the U.S. mission has changed. Despite doubts by the White House, it evidently has concentrated on a hunt for Aidid, in hiding since his followers killed 28 Palestinian peacekeepers last June. (Aidid's wife also was on the run.) Last week, Kandas Garbar, who arrived in Canada in 1989 as a refugee and is now a locked immigrant, died her rented townhouse in London, Ont., and reports that she was being investigated for possible immigration violations and wildlife trade.

For White House agencies, events in Mogadishu threatened to undermine

Clinton's recent political health care. "This guy is on a roller coaster," said Stephen Bess, a Georgetown scholar with the Washington-based Brookings Institution. "Here's a President who got elected to do something on domestic matters who's getting a long way from his specialty."

Recently, the crisis drew multiple comparisons with the nation's escalating involvement in the Vietnam War. To placate the



Somalis with the corpse of an American serviceman, persistent to withdraw

army troops in Somalia. They will be equipped with 104 armored vehicles. As well, an aircraft carrier and two amphibious groups with 3,000 combat marines will be stationed in the Indian Ocean off the Somali coast. They will join the 850 fresh soldiers with tanks and other armored vehicles whom the President dispatched earlier to the war following the bloodbath in Mogadishu, more than doubling the U.S. military presence. Arguing that chaos and starvation would quickly return to the East African nation if the United States departs in haste, Clinton said "Now we face a choice, do we leave when the job gets tough or when the job gets done? We must complete [our] withdrawal soon, and I will, but we must also leave on our terms. We need to fight."

As the Senate prepared to debate the Somalia operation this week, many Democrats and Republicans welcomed Clinton's newly articulated goals. Senate Demo-

cratic leader George Mitchell of Maine and then the President's decision was in keeping with the original intent of the mission that Bush began. And Republican Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, who had earlier demanded an explanation of U.S. policy in Somalia, said he now hoped that Clinton would receive broad bipartisan support. The administration was also seeking to cool the flames in Mogadishu, with presidential envoy Robert Oakley talking to leaders in the rebel camp, according to reports denied by Clinton, seeking a ceasefire in exchange for ending the hunt for Aidid. The hope was for a mutual response to Clinton's troop withdrawal was to urge his supporters to fight American imperialism. But later his supporters said that Aidid welcomed a U.S. peace initiative and wanted a ceasefire.

Both sides were also discussing a possible prisoner swap, which could see Durant exchanged for Somalia's long-held prisoner by UN forces. A Danish importer who interviewed Durant and he appeared more relaxed than he had been during his TV appearance. A doctor was treating his injuries including a broken right leg, but he told of being held being frayed through the streets in agony after his capture. For Leon Durant and his wife, Denise, talk of a possible exchange was welcome. Said the father "All I want is my job back."

WILLIAM LOWTHER in Washington

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HARD LANDING

THE DEAL TO PRIVATIZE PEARSON AIRPORT MEETS VOCAL OPPOSITION

CAMPAIGN 95
THE NEW
ISSUES

Although Brian Mulroney was one of the most unpopular prime ministers in Canadian history when he retired in June, he still has many rich and influential friends. Last week, Mulroney was at Montreal's Expo 95. Paul Desmarès, a former Liberal MP, was at Desmarès' side in Quebec when Desmarès concluded a \$100-million hydroelectric power deal with the Chinese government. But back home, Mulroney's success was not as certain. Mulroney's success over one of his government's most controversial initiatives, a contract granting a 37-year monopoly over two terminals at Toronto's Lester B. Pearson Airport to a consortium including London, Ont., developer Donald Matthews, a former Tory party president and one of Mulroney's strongest supporters. With the Oct. 25 federal election only weeks away, some Toronto and Ontario officials explored Campbell to delay the deal and to make the terms of the contract public—which the consortium pledged to do this week. Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien pointed out the issue and vowed to re-negotiate—and perhaps kill—the deal if elected. But Chrétien then leaned all to a private \$1,800-a-seat fundraising party in Montreal attended by 300 wealthy backers, including millionaire Charles Bronfman, another partner in the Pearson deal. Campbell, however, refused to back down, and allowed lawyers and officials in Toronto to quietly sign the final agreement. Declined Campbell who was campaigning in Charlotte, N.C. "Mr. Chrétien would kill an infrastructure project financed by the private sector creating 14,000 new jobs."

The signing of the deal, however, did nothing to quell the political storm. Campaigning in British Columbia, Chrétien denounced it as "indecent" and he was joined by New Democratic Party Leader Audrey McLaughlin in his demand for a review. But beyond the heated campaign rhetoric, the financial and economic implications of the deal remained difficult to assess. All sides agree that the two terminals are in need of renovation and repair. And even before Transport Minister Jean Carlier issued the first formal request for proposals to redevelop the terminals in



Metro Toronto councillors protesting at Pearson: public demand for a review

March 1990, the government argued that privatization would save taxpayers the cost of hundreds of millions of dollars worth of improvements. Opponents, however, have denounced the deal as pure old-fashioned pork barreling. They also question the wisdom of expanding the airport, which is one of the few profitable major airports in Canada, at a time when Canada's airline industry

is in disaster and passenger traffic has slumped. But with Campbell and his ministers dismissed such criticism last week, their delay in making the details of the contract public before the election opened the door for Chrétien and the opposition to make political points, drawing attention away from the economic of the airport. Conservative Liberal transport critic John Mackay: "There are un-

portant fundamental issues to be resolved, despite the deal's political cost."

Although the precise terms of the deal remained obscured in secrecy at the time it was signed, the government disclosed the main provision of the contract on August 30: Pearson Development Corp. (PDC) is a consortium 66 per cent owned by a division of the Boardman's Chandler Group and 34 per cent owned by Panport Inc., which is controlled by Matthews. Initially, Chrysler bid against Panport for the contract. Panport prevailed in August of 1989, but the two groups joined forces last January and Chandler eventually acquiesced. Matthews and took a minority interest in the consortium. PDC now

currently receives \$25.6 million a year from the two terminals, which generate a net revenue of about \$80 million annually. In fact, Pearson is one of the few consistently profitable Canadian airports. In the first year of the new lease, Ottawa will pay \$26 million, although it is actually deferring one of \$38 million over years 2 through 4 of the agreement to ensure that construction work is immediately getting underway. According to PDC spokesman Tom Bird, construction is slated to start by December. The consortium claims that the construction will create 14,000 "person-years" of employment—the same of the 14,000 job figure cited by its agent, Campbell.

At first, the opposition to the Aug. 30 announcement about Pearson was relatively subdued and there seemed to be limited resistance to Ottawa's 1987 policy of privatizing airports. But leaked cabinet documents published by The Ottawa Citizen on Sept. 25 indicated that Transport Canada officials had major concerns including questions about Panport's finances and its ability to build its construction consortium. That report gave Chrétien, Ontario Premier Bob Rae and local Toronto politicians ammunition for their political attacks on Campbell. As a special meeting of Metropolitan Toronto's municipal council, councillors passed a motion condemning the deal—but stopped short of asking for a legal opinion. The city's lawyers said that the development consortium could then not be the city for huge damages if a court ordered the agreement null and void. The city's case, some councillors who had a picket at the airport the day of the meeting, argued that Ottawa should have granted the lease to a Local Airport Authority, a separate authority made up of local government officials and businessmen. The other private law airports in Canada are all under the control of such bodies.

Concerns about PDC's priorities were also heightened when the privately owned Matthews Group acknowledged last week that it has undergone a financial review and may need the co-operation of the Royal Bank of Canada and the management consulting firm Ernst & Young. Panport spokesman Tom Bird conceded that, the other real estate and development companies, the Matthews Group has been under some financial strain. But he argued that all airport concerns have been addressed in Transport Canada's review process. "They really dragged this thing out," Bird said. "Not only was it frustrating, it was costing about a million dollars a month to sit around the table." Bird added: "The contract was supposed to be signed in June. It was already delayed but the terms were not coming to us with the election."

Whatever financial reasons there were for putting the deal forward, the pending election and the involvement of several of Mulroney's friends and former associates near the top of the opposition that the deal was politically driven. The cost of characters

Business Notes

MEXICO SIGNALS

The national unemployment rate was 11.2 per cent in September, Statistics Canada reported. That is down from 11.3 per cent in the previous month. Among the major economies and business bankruptcies rose slightly in August. A total of 4,254 individuals and 847 businesses declared bankruptcy in August. That is up from the 4,183 individuals and 832 businesses that reported on debts in July. Still, construction picked up in Central Canada and Alberta in September to help national housing starts rise a modest 0.6 per cent. The number of units started in the month increased to an annual rate of 153,000 up from a revised 152,700 in August.

GOING FOR BROKER

Two of Canada's largest discount brokers, Green Line Investor Services Inc., the securities dealer subsidiary of the Toronto-Dominion Bank, and Marathon Securities, announced a \$50-million merger. Green Line currently has 22 offices across Canada and Marathon has 11.

A POWERFUL NEW ALLIANCE

Ontario Hydro and Hydro Quebec, Canada's two largest electrical utilities, have joined Manitoba-based conglomerate Power Corp. of Canada in a \$100-million joint venture called Aco Power Group Inc. The new firm targets market in China, which plans to spend \$1 billion over the next eight years to improve its electric power service.

A SAVIER UNIFORM

Overall auto sales in Canada declined in September, although it was not enough to dampen a rise in sales by North American manufacturers for the 1992 model year. Sales of new cars and light trucks by domestic and foreign-based companies were down more per cent last month, dropping to 92,600 units from 100,126 units in September, 1991. However, for the model year ended on Sept. 30, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler together increased sales 2.6 per cent.

SHOP UNTIL YOU DROP

While shopping chased bankruptcies QRC Networks Inc. said that it has obtained \$5 billion in financing commitments for its uncompleted cash-and-stock offer to buy Paramount Communications Inc. for \$9.5 billion. Paramount confirmed that it had received the documents and said it will return them.

includes: Bill Neville, a lobbyist and former head of Mulroney's 1984 transition team; Fred Doucet, a lobbyist and Mulroney's former chief of staff; Ray Hennessy, a former led oil-deputy minister of industry, science and technology; and Otto Jechow, former federal revenue minister and recently appointed president of Matthews' Asian subsidiary. The Liberal party, however, is also well represented. Charles Brodeur, whose family owns Claridge, is a longtime supporter and his top adviser is Liberal-appointed senator Leo Kolber.

Industry experts question the need for renewed facilities at Peirson. David Glushteyn, president of Transper 2000, an Ontario-based customer advocacy group, noted that the ongoing federal province study of high-speed trains between Quebec City and Windsor would also diminish the need, demand for new capacity at Peirson. "Air traffic is down and there is no sign that it's about to pick up," Glushteyn says. "We have a real problem with the suggestion that Peirson must be overhauled." According to federal government estimates, traffic through Peirson is expected to increase by about three per cent a year.

Others in private-sector boards on the theory that private-sector owners will operate them more efficiently than government bureaucrats. But Andrew Haines, a Toronto lawyer who has written extensively as an expert on transportation issues, says that private ownership is the correct vehicle with revenues. FOC may simply use the monopoly to raise fees and charges to transport users if it does not meet its profit targets, rather than cutting costs. Said Haines: "It may increase privately owned efficiency, at the expense of the public interest."

Indeed, following the signing of the contract last week, Conrail's president said that as Peacock would increase under private management. Although there has been some concern about a dramatic jump in charges, Conrail's president says that such charges would be brought into line with those at Terminal 3. Dawson built the vehicles used at 23 a passenger for use at Terminals 1 and 2. At Terminal 3, however, Conrail's charges about 87 a passenger. Conrail's president said that this compares to much higher charges at other airports, such as London, where it costs it, says the firm, to have to go to be noted.

Despite the threats from opposition leaders, there is no assurance that the transaction can be overturned. The Liberal Ministry admitted last week that the party would have to obtain legal advice and introduce new legislation before rescinding the contract. Despite the unwavering stance of the Tory government and ROC officials, they failed to quell the political turbulence surrounding the deal. And with two weeks still remaining in the federal election campaign, that turbulence was bound to continue.

JOHN DAVIS and DEBORAH M. SUTHERS



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Plotting a path for the New Economy

A new take on old traditions is helping to stabilize emerging Canadian companies

The Canadian corporate landscape has been reshaped by the recession and global markets. While large companies have shrunk and changed the way they operate, a number of new companies have emerged. They depend more on technology and they employ workers in small towns, at increasing trust levels. Ironically, still young companies are discovering the need to adopt many qualities of conventional corporations. Two examples show how the New and Old Economy management styles have converged.

Marrying clout with capital

Wanda Doran has come a long way from her days as a high school teacher. But as president and chief executive officer of Quantum Growth Inc., Doran calls on many of the same skills. And there is still a slight air of child at play: the teacher, turned tax lawyer and CEO, describes the "Macquarie" business management holding company brings to its investment portfolio of 15 young ventures. At a time when a host of new knowledge-based, value-added companies are rising from the rubble of the recession, Doran advocates a continuity and emphasis on traditional corporate values and controls. Quantum's investment strategy beyond providing the capital to expand—its focus of eight seasoned executives offers guidance with financial system, marketing, plotting a strategic course and, where necessary, recruiting senior managers. "We have a high school teacher's mind," notes Doran. "We aren't passive investors. We're strategic partners."

Over the course of the recession, many large-established Canadian companies have suddenly discovered that their organizations at ground level are weak and unresponsive for rapidly shifting global markets. As a result of the squeeze endured by these corporations and their employees, the managers at

many small, so-called New Economy companies are now deliberately trying to imitate the same mistakes by organizing into flexible units and dispensing with formal titles and chains of command. But Doran notes that the absence of a basic co-ordinated infrastructure can be fatal to growing companies, especially those that are keen to crack international markets. "Solid infrastructure from you up to be flexible and to focus on more important things," she says. "In today's volatile markets you need to respond fast and to do that you need good management systems in place."

Another part of Quantum's role as a "strategic investor," is to help emerging companies keep a balanced perspective on their rapidly growing operations. Especially in cases where an independent entrepreneur is running a company, business planning may be eclipsed by more personal passions. Michael Levinson, a professor at the University of Western Ontario's business school, says that entrepreneurs "are often obsessed with their own ideas and urgency." He adds that "they all think that they are unique and have no competitors—they miss the past of strategy, marketing and planning." When Quantum made its initial investment in Macquarie Data Corp. of Markham, Ont., the company, which promotes software services for real estate property and asset management, and construction industries, needed both capital and perspective. It had invested a large sum of money in its unsuccessful expansion into the United States market, its financial controls were inadequate

and the technology increasingly dated. According to Michael Macquarie, Minicon's chief executive officer, the company also tended to emphasize technology and research and development (R&D) instead of marketing and sales. "In a small company it's easy to get too small—it's such a small, supportive vision," says Macquarie. "I'd been back from knowledge-based outsiders can be a very valuable reality check."

Since Quantum arrived on the scene in 1989, Macquarie has carefully focused its R&D. Financial controls have been carefully improved and monthly board meetings have been introduced. Quantum also has helped the company to establish a foothold in Asian markets through its own network of contacts and it has provided the financial resources required to attract some major clients such as Royal Bank, Roly Inc., Royal LePage Real Estate Management Services, George Weston Ltd. and Confederation Life Insurance Co.

Unlike conventional venture capital firms, however, Quantum will not invest in start-ups or unproven technology. Instead, it invests in acquisitions of \$5 million over a period of three to five years. A company in which it invests usually has more than \$10 million in annual sales and a proven record of growth. Typically, the company should also combine two distinct specialties such as medicine and computer technology. To appeal to Quantum, it must also have a market share of at least 10 per cent, with the potential for significant export sales and it must be headquartered in Canada. Doran says that Quantum has no plans to re-

Doran's discipline and focus are key to steady growth in the 1990s

neer for beyond its current holdings because after that point "the wheels fall off and it's tougher to give 'quality time' to companies."

Although Quantum started life as a private investment fund, it went public in 1992 through a \$50-million stock issue. Currently, it has investments in 15 companies across Canada ranging from custom software developers to a Calgary-based conventional services company and a power generator manufacturer. The asset value of these holdings is pegged at about \$80 million.

Properly, the company in which it invests has grown too fast or is a period of transition. Among the experts on retirement from Quantum's board of directors are Peter Laughland, former president of Alberta, Ted Medford, former chair

man of World Gendy Inc., John Yessell, a western capitalist and David Rennie, a former executive at General Canada Corp. and director of Derbent Industries Ltd.

Despite Quantum's prudent advisers and carefully plotted investment strategy, Doran's toughest teaching assignment has

been to teach the Canadian investment community about her hybrid company and convince it that an old-style management firm with diversified holdings has a role to play in Canada's restructured New Economy. In recent years, investors have shunned such complex comprehensive companies in favour of so-called pure plays, which focus on one core business.

But even though Doran concedes that "no tidy label quite fits" Quantum—which makes the stock difficult for most investors to understand—she says that she is convinced that there is a need for new public companies in Canada that reflect a new economic reality. "The core Canadian companies are gone or are no longer growing," says Doran. "As savings and pension funds melt, they end up chasing their tail in the market." Furthermore, at a time when many companies are saddled with cumbersome debt loads, Quantum is debt free and has almost \$20 million in cash reserves.

Nevertheless, despite the current strength of Canada's stock market, Quantum's shares still trade below their issue price of \$8.50 a share. And while its clients, as investment counterpart with Glaxo, Shell & Jancochem in Toronto, is optimistic about Quantum's prospects, he warns that the stock market's grip on such New Economy hybrid entities will take time. "A conservative investor doesn't want high-tech and an aggressive investor doesn't want such a solid approach to high-tech," says Glaxo. "Quantum fills both boxes on the market." Still, if Wanda Doran has her way, Canadian investors will eventually learn their lesson.

DEBORAH NEMTSOFF

Returning to a profitable future

Dennis Boushman has a job that a lot of people might envy. The 40-year-old graphics software designer spends his day creating what he calls "eye candy"—computer programs that simulate exploding stars, crashing objects and other special visual effects—for Toronto-based Alisa Research Inc. Alisa has won a reputation for creating software for the makers of *James Bond*, *Terminator II* and other blockbuster movies, as well as General Motors, Thors and other manufacturers who use it to create products. But Boushman says that his job has not always been as enticing as it is now. When he joined Alisa three years ago, it was a flounder, just growing company based on a model by two federal industry Minister Dennis Boushman when he presented Alisa with an award for business excellence in October, 1990. But externally, Alisa was in danger, and Boushman says that Alisa's early managers just weren't accessible to their average working class. A year later, the day of reallocation came. Alisa's shares tumbled in price, and the company's bankruptcy trustee, Stephen Hughes, stepped down as president. Alisa had learned a lesson that many other companies in the high-tech sector have also learned the hard way—that a bold vision and a unique product can only carry a company so far. At a certain point, they need a strong dose of direction and discipline from management.

That is precisely the prescription that Boushman's philosophy prescribes. Bob Burgess, who followed over the past two years, almost immediately after assuming the helm, Burgess divided the company into profit centres, so that he could identify the financial performance of individual departments. Burgess also placed a money-loving Boushman's subsidiary on the surface black, and scuttled other projects that he says were unrelated to Alisa's core business. Burgess, 38, also made it clear to designers and other employees that "a great product is one that is a lot," not one that is just technically impressive. Alisa's turnaround strategy at the moment is sales growth. In July, the company sold 10 systems to London-based Progression Ltd., which manufactures games for Nintendo and Sega. But far from banking at a more focused, overextended approach, Burgess says that "people here wanted to be led." That approach appears to be

Boushman (right), Burgess' management is now accessible



paying off. After almost two years of heavy losses, Alisa earned a profit of \$630,000 on \$15.6 million in sales in the first half of this year compared with a massive \$1.8-million loss in the same period a year earlier. Says Burgess: "We've got our future back."

Allan's loss from grace and its recovery are almost a textbook example of the pitfalls that have bedeviled many but now high-tech companies and the steps that they have had to take to get back on track. Like other computer or industry giants such as Apple Computer Inc. and Dell Computer Corp., Dell stumbled when it tried to make the transition from a purchasing start-up to a consistently profitable operating company. "It's the companies that had that transition that are successful," says Burgess. But that transition usually requires a radical shift in management strategy—and often, as in Allan's case, new management.

Alas graphique: designs that seek

guy sold three software packages to General Motors for its car designers, cracking open a brand new market.

By 1990, Adams' annual sales reached \$30 million, and it had more than 200 employees sprawled over a former chocolate factory in downtown Toronto. Relaxed and outgoing, Wincham backed to the mobile phone. All

signed on as a leading sponsor of Toronto's annual film festival. It also won praise for developing the software used to create spectacular special effects in movies like *The Abyss* and *Star Trek VI*. In interviews, Bingham talked of transforming *Nasa* into a \$2 billion company by the turn of the century.

But while Hengstenhals talked of grand plans, Alcoa's finances were crumbling. Management poured money and time into new projects without clear-cut goals. The company could not even collect its bills on time; at one point, the total value of Alcoa's accounts receivable soared to the equivalent of 120 days of sales. In October 1991, a disgruntled Connecticut shareholder filed a lawsuit alleging that a bad faith effort to dilute his financial claim in its quarterly statements. As well, the Securities and Exchange Commission in Washington commenced an investigation of the company's accounting practices and its executive executives. Those charges, which all relate to activities prior to January 1992, have yet to be resolved. In any event, Hengstenhals stepped down as president in October, 1992, and resigned as chairman in June, 1993.

Burgess, contrast, has his sights firmly fixed on the bottom line. A native of Toronto, Burgess joined Nike after 13 years in various sales and executive positions with Honeywell Inc. Digital Equipment Corp. and, lastly, as a vice president of computer-maker Silicon Graphics Inc. in Mountain View, Calif. This and intense, Burgess says that he works up to 60 hours a week and has little time for any hobbies or other outside interests. He lives in a small house in High Park, a fashionable western Toronto neighborhood, a few blocks from the city's downtown core of tree-lined streets and non-descript-brick houses. From the beginning, he says that he has tried to mail the notion that "the business department is everybody," and that client needs should guide their creative efforts.

But Soropass also notes that he is no authoritarian. He argues that his new rules and guidelines have helped strengthen the role of Alsea's designers, or, as he puts it, "empower the new architects."

In fact, many of *NASA's* employees themselves appear to be less anxious about the new way of doing things than Borgers. Bransford said that he had little contact with managers under Rindberg. Now, he says, "I run go to Rob about things." Matthew Zaleski, an engineer on a four-engine jet that has been canceled, says the design team has a program that allows him and other product designers to sketch a simple outline on a touch-sensitive pad with an electronic pencil—and then quickly transfer and store that line in a realistic 3-D image. Says Zaleski: "It's pretty nifty. The new world is that you have to do what the customers need." Borgers, however, still seems against complacency. "In the high-tech business, there is no arriving," he says. "You have to keep moving forward to replace the probability maybe be one effort to replace a fly in the room."

JENN DAILY

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This election needs a touch of magic

RV PETER C. NEWMAN

No wonder the TV networks had so much trouble trying to pick defining moments from last week's debates.

The reason was simple enough: None of the party leaders—except for Lucien Bouchard who advocated national break-up—proposed any means of the country they wanted to govern. Instead of setting out agendas of maximum hope, they thought each other for the privilege of buying out terms of maximum despair.

This was the total flow of the debate, and it's the reason why most Canadians in this election would prefer to vote for Michael Jordan (now that he's given up his day job) than for any of the available candidates. There is no sense of magic in this campaign, no feeling that something exciting—or even vaguely desirable—might happen after Oct. 25.

People don't vote for what they already have, and they no longer believe promises attached to the stretch of party politics. What they need is a window into the future that traces open the interplay of possibilities and doesn't eliminate hope. To create that quality of hope or at least grace, a leader needs to be touched by a sense of magic. (The Nature Law Party is touched, but not by genuine magic.) That brand of magic requires going beyond Graham's idea, however, that you

Once a few enlightened measures are adopted, like spending more on day care than on helicopters, Canadians may trust the system again.

can start fixing things between us. Balancing the deficit is a necessary part of any future commitment, but it's only a bureaucratic beginning, not a spiritual destination.

If our leaders honestly believe that the Canadian economy is so deep in the Dumpster that they cannot offer voters realistic reassurances, then the least they owe us is honesty and the presumption that we should be addressed as adults who can make our own minds and vote accordingly.

This was hardly the mood of the TV de-

The worst offender was Preston Manning who speaks almost entirely in slogans and smooth as arctic borders. Any guy who wears his as well as his pen is all bad, he has punched, boyish severity soon wears thin. Watching him reminds me of the owner of Slurpee Dooey; the huge thin never stops. Lamenting to his waards exactly like Jerry Seinfeld's *Life Swept Gone to Washington*.

No matter how much Manning denies it, his party represents the kind of racist rednecks who are currently raising \$250,000 around Lehigh Valley, Pa. to finance a court battle against the ACAP allowing its members to wear turbans.

The Reform party is not, as Manning maintains, about a "New Canada." It's about a very old Canada when European agricultural settlers the plains. They were then at the very forefront of Canadian civilization, gathering bountiful harvests from the new land. They have long since lost their prominence. The Reformers' politics is a cry from the heart, a protest against a contemporary world they never made.

Lacan's scholar in reminiscence of one of those poorly open salons where stage acts are inevitably accompanied by a *plaisanterie*, he thus of low-register banter. His performative manner seems devoid of wit, irony or humor. At one point, he admits he was a Liberal in the 1970s, which means that the former Trotsky cabinet minister has played all legions to at least three parties. He seems acquainted with the whole process, encapsulated by the notion that he the future President of Quebec, should have to get up and say this phrase: "He speaks on chairs, offering us an analysis of an individual, as if we were his stool." The sarcastic, ambivalent, ambivalence of the federalist government? What's this, a Marxist with a rock?

Andrey McLoughlin seems the most comfortable in her sensible shoes. Maybe she knows she's nothing to lose. More likely she feels so balanced and collected because she alone of the candidates speaks out of experience rather than obligation. She owes nothing to anybody. Not even the women. She's the only one coasting on the stage.

At times, Kim Campbell talks her too fast for any human mind to follow. "I have a very clear plan to eliminate the deficit!" she believes every five minutes or so. The repetition of this meaningless mantra makes it sound like some worn agent's hell talking her into Kim's drowning. Viciously angry that it takes all this go to woe an election. What needs of These should be a tenure track for prime ministers—on the world's best to be exposed to all this wailing from people who haven't even seen the 26 different ways we keep our national books.

When the national economy is shutting down, a light, any light, at the end of the tunnel is precious. When Kim Campbell's cabinet stated that there was no hope of any significant union of new jobs until the end of the decade, she not only turned off that light but boarded up the tunnel. That's what people will remember, not her sometimes laudable contribution to the television debate.

Jean Chrétien's eyes give off a distant light as he tries to concentrate on his questions to be being asked. When at last he is asked to read a passage from the Bible, he looks down at the text and reads: "It is in the book! It is in the book!" and waves his little red pamphlet. (He would have been proud.) Chrétien would

All at all, the television debates were so the high light of a low-life campaign.

The Beauty of the Beast



The new Supra Turbo quickly changes from the beauty to the beast with a simple turn of the steering wheel.

The Boat: A squarish twin turbocharged power plant that hauls off 330 horses were

The Beauty A cockpit that reflects the commander who has no time for frivolities. A cockpit which utilizes over-sized gauges, precisely located controls and a wrap around dash panel.

The Beast. A short-throw lifting[®] and special
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than up to delivering the
213 lb ft of torque that
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The new *Supra Turbo* from eye-catching beauty to break-taking beast.


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DISSEMINATE THE ADVANTAGES AND BENEFITS OF THESE THREE IDEAS AND FURTHER PLOTS OF THEIR FURTHER EXPANSION THROUGH DEVELOPMENT. (REMARKS: THESE ARE THE TRANSLATIONS)

A battle for the bucks

In a \$2.5-billion merchandising market, the Jays are trailing

It is the first night of the American League playoffs in Chicago, and more than 14,000 fans stream into Toronto's SkyDome to watch a broadcast of the game on the stadium's giant Jumbotron. They are die-hard, true-blue fans, and many are clad in their Blue Jays lewis and shorts. "I'm proud to wear their colors," says 41-year-old shopper Rick Brenner. "And they go well with jeans." But Gabriela Zygouras thinks the Jays could inspire a look more appealing to kids. "They could do something a little juicier," says Zygouras, 38, standing with her nine-year-old twin boys and their friends around a sports-card vending machine. The kids are quick to offer the winners of better-looking clubs: the Florida Marlins, the California Rockies, even the rival Chicago White Sox. One of them has a Los Angeles Raiders football jersey at home, another says that wearing it at school made his Raiders baseball cap. "The kids are all wearing that stuff," Zygouras says. "It would be nice if they wore our uniforms instead."

Even as the postgame action heats up on the field, a separate subterranean game is being played out on the street, the battle for merchandising supremacy. In fact, Jays gear—T-shirts and caps, jackets and pants—does well all over Canada. The Jays have captured about 55 per cent of the nearly 550 million Canadian market in baseball pants pheromones, the Montreal Expos place a strong second. But even the Jays' marketing director, Paul Maricle, concedes that the team's Celine Dion success has more to do with affluence than fanism appeal. And last week, the Blue Jays were facing the lachrymose plates of the baseball world: Chicago's merchandise—adorned with the team's trendy black, white and silver colors and its enfecting Sox logo—



ousted every other baseball team in 1991 and 1993, falling to second behind the Rockies this year. And those rankings mirror big business: the retail value of baseball merchandise in North America has soared to a staggering \$2.5 billion, up from just \$220 million in 1986.

That dramatic increase has coincided with the growing recognition of professional sport as entertainment—and even teams that lose the game can win the show. Among the five baseball clubs that sold the most merchandise this year, two—the Rockies and the Marlins—finished next to last in their divisions. Those exposure teams both wore black and silver combined with hot colors—purple for the Rockies, a trendy teal for the Marlins. And both



Team logos even those who face at home plate can win the game with style



Wilson Alvarez, Frank Thomas of the Chicago White Sox (left); the Jays' John Oliver (on an off-day Jay feeling)

had their uniforms designed by baseball's fashion guru, Anne Octel. "A club can transcend its own geographic area by having a mark whose color or whose depiction is in at the time," says Octel. Major League Baseball Properties vice-president of design services. Other logos, like that of the perennially popular New York Yankees, sell purely for their cast-iron edge. "We pride ourselves," says Octel, "on marks that transcend time."

Major League Baseball Properties licenses companies to produce T-shirts in exchange for a non-exclusive royalty. That royalty is then divided equally among the teams, regardless of whose merch they sell best. But baseball peripherals must also do battle with other prospects products, and it is Octel's job to encourage baseball sales. Armed with fabric swatches and a keen eye for the latest trends, she has helped 14 teams—including Montreal's Expos—revamp their uniforms since she took the job five years ago. Even more changes are in store for next season—Octel is predicting more neutral colors and slimmer uniforms. The Jays, Maricle says, are planning to unveil alternate jerseys that the team will wear occasionally. Although merchandising is the major factor driving fashion reform, players—accused to look good under the glare of TV lights—also play a role. The Blue Jays stopped wearing the white pinstriped caps assigned for their home games in mid-season this year, under the pretense that the change would help stop a losing streak. "But I think the players just

preferred the look of the dark blue [new] cap," Maricle says.

It is difficult to gauge exactly how Jays merchandise measures up against its U.S. rivals, since Major League Baseball does not release a detailed tally of North American sales. But Maricle says that, despite their World Series victory last year, the Jays are not selling well south of the border. "I wish we were more popular in the States," he says. "The three teams to be in are the Blue Jays, the Yankees and the Red Sox."

It may not be all national recognition, though. A fan of the Jays' American League East rivals, the Baltimore Orioles, is likely to wear a Jays T-shirt only with a gift to his head. "I joke," says Gern Durrant, the 36-year-old co-owner of The Sport Shop in Baltimore. "That may be something to do with the way Toronto manager Cito Gaston stacked the lineup with Jays in this year's all-star game in Baltimore. But the main reason, Durrant says, is that "they keep taking the championship away from us." Meanwhile, in Detroit's Sport Shop in Detroit, Atlanta apparel outside Toronto's by a margin of eight in two last year, even though the Jays beat the Braves in the Series. "These kids want jerseys that look unique," manager Brian Dee explains. "The Braves with the contraband has always been a good seller." In the other game, where hits and runs do not count, the final score is tallied at the cash register.

Master of midair

Will Michael Jordan decide to soar again?

BY BOB LEVIN

In a crib, seemingly weightless, floating and drifting and swooping towards the hoop, Michael Jordan does the unimaginable, the impossible, the unexpected. He does it—the downtown flyball—always from an even rim, can explain it. He is an acrobat, an actor, flycatcher with a pump shot. He is "God disguised as Michael Jordan," as Celtics great Larry Bird once said. Jordan's smile, his cool, his clean flying around—flying could be a marketing ploy, as well, straightheaded celebration of everything from Gatorade ("Be Like Mike") to Nike to McDonald's. He is Michael Jordan, the most famous athlete on earth, a definition once held by soccer's Pelé and later boxing's Muhammad Ali. And when he announced his retirement last week, after one National Basketball Association season and three straight Chicago Bulls championships, Jordan left a world of stunned fans asking: "What's next, Mike?"

It is—far from. But then again, he returned, only to come back, so did Ali, again and again. Because their sport was what they loved, it is who they are. At his press conference outside Chicago last week, the 30-year-old Jordan, smoothly and strong as ever, said he had always believed that "when I lose the sense of motivation and the sense to prove something as a basketball player, it's time to leave."

As the season approached, he realized, "the doctor was not there." But could it return? Could the man whose friend and fellow star Charles Barkley describes as "the only person in this entire world that I've met who is as competitive as I am," really be done, find motivation in coming out of retirement to challenge for the championship again? Jordan, the master of change-of-direction on the court, admitted that was possible. "Would I ever suffer?" he asked rhetorically. "I don't know. I think I would." "You" means you can do whatever you want, and maybe someday down the road that's what I'll desire to do.

That, of course, would be wonderful news to Canadian fans, who learned in September that Toronto will be getting the NBA's first NBA franchise, starting in the 1995-2000 season. But for now all Jordan desires to do is relax, spend time with his family—he and his

wife, Janina, have three children—and play golf. He is a lawyers friend, usually, a soccer handicap. He certainly has no money worries—he makes more than \$40 million (U.S.) a year in salary and endorsement, and some of those sponsorship contracts run for several more years. And he had simple reason to

Jordan: nothing left to prove



say aside. There was the painful ending last year of another of Jordan's competitive sports, gambling. He acknowledged losing large sums in golf wagers—the casinos reached over a million—but the NBA leaned no violations of league rules. And there was the nation's July request of his father, James, while coping in his car on a North Carolina roadside that made Michael realize "it can be taken away from you at any time."

There was nothing left to prove on the hardwood. He had a sterling but frustrating career at the University of North Carolina, playing within a tightly structured system that treated it as his sole brilliance. The Bulls picked him third overall in the 1984 draft, after he was passed over by teams that believed a guard—a man of a mere 6 feet, 6 inches in a league full of slayers—could not lead a team to NBA supremacy. He went on to win scoring titles after scoring title (Jordan in a new now) and when critics argued that no selfish scorer could make his team a champion, he hoisted the Bulls on his back and took them to the promised land three times during.

Along the way, he captured two Olympic gold medals, won countless awards to basketball—and raised the sport to a new level. Other stars had pioneered the air attitude—Elgin Baylor, Connie Hawkins, Julius Erving—but it was Jordan who could do it all, score, shoot, rebound, dribble, pass, play defense. Other stars—Bird and Magic Johnson—had lifted the league from its late-1970s doldrums, but it was Jordan who made it glow, who proved that the hard line about how fans only have to watch the last five minutes of an NBA game—the rest does not matter—is a kind of ignorance. With Air Jordan, told the fan is getting there. And his personal legend spread, making Michael Jordan a household name in the most unlikely of households, in a recent poll of high-school students in the Australian state of Queensland, the most chosen most popular sports personality by a landslide was an Aussie rugby player or footballer, but a well-known American basketball player with a diamond earring.

In other words, for all Michael's success last year, Jordan is the world's mightiest act to follow. And for the NBA itself, which in the last two years lost Johnson and Bird, as well, he is impossible to replace. Of course, the league has other great stars and the machine to market them: the Orlando Magic's massive second-year center, Shaquille O'Neal, is the current darling of the type-and-hoop brigade, while Charlotte Hornets forward Larry Johnson—who has advertised Coty perfume underlines as "Grandma's" (a wig and flopping back)—last week signed a 10-year, \$64 million (U.S.) contract. "You've got a lot of superstars in this league," Jordan said, "and with me stepping away, there's a lot of other people to carry it. You've always got a better man out there somewhere." And? Hard to believe. But then, if some new frequent flyer comes along to dominate the NBA skies, Air Jordan—retired pro—might just decide to soar again. □

Energy Guide



POWER SAVER*

AN INFORMATION AND ADVERTISING
STATEMENT OF THE ENERGY INDUSTRY
UNITED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

10 myths about energy efficiency

Why does energy efficiency matter?

Why is energy efficient? For many, some believe — it will reduce your electricity bill, right? But it's the "right thing to do" for other reasons. It energy efficiency programs are cost-effective, safety, and energy bill will come down. But what will contribute to the cost of your energy bill? A new dynamic economy. Sustainable development — helping to energy efficiency is not the only energy benefit — it will help help energy efficiency programs. It will help help the environment. Energy efficiency and environmental policy mutually complement each other — it is not the energy use creates the environmental impact. The idea of an energy program is already a cost-effective and sustainable policy. Helping with energy efficiency household there are many ways. It is an energy saving that it will help you save a penny — and all of which can save you money.

1. "Take a shower instead of a bath because a shower uses less water"

Only if your shower lasts eight minutes or less. If you shower 10 minutes or longer, you will use more water than if you take a bath. If you have a low-flow showerhead, the bath uses more water than a 10-minute shower. There is a simple way to test yourself on this: plug the drain stop over your shower and see how the amount of water in the tub compares with the amount used for your bath.

2. "The hot water heater runs every day in the winter, so the hot water is easier to heat than cold water"

True and false: you need fresh air in the house, but it's an easier to heat. Opening windows and doors only lets in cold air that has to be heated and lets out warm air that has been already spent money to heat. If you have large pipes, install them open a window slightly, use insulation and kitchen cabinet fans to consider a heat exchange or which reduces drafts and prevent incoming cold air.

3. "You should keep your heater in an unheated garage so that in the winter, spring and fall, it doesn't have to work as hard"

It's actually easier on the heater and compressor if the temperature is constant. Fluctuating temperatures are hard on the heater. It's best if the surrounding temperature is cool, like in a basement.

4. "When you go away on vacation, unplug all electrical appliances to save energy"

Most appliances, such as toasters, electric can openers, portable fans and alarm clocks do not use energy when they are switched off. Only appliances with "stand-by" features (TVs) or appliances with built-in clocks (such as refrigerators, VCRs) use energy when switched off.

5. "An electrically heated house has to be better insulated than a house heated with oil or gas"

The best heat by a house does not vary according to the type of heat used. Insulation helps keep energy and heat from leaking down, no matter how you heat the house.

6. "The easy and cheap way to insulate the basement is to put rigid polystyrene sheets on the walls and cover them with wood paneling"

While it might increase the insulation value of your walls, it probably reduces the local building code in a big way. Synthetic insulation must be covered by a fire-resistant surface such as dry wall, gypsum board or concrete.

7. "Turning off the electric hot water heater when I go away for the weekend will save me money"

The energy required to reheat the water is probably greater than the energy you will use to keep the water hot when it isn't being used. This is because electric water heaters are well-insulated and retain heat for a long period of time. You won't save money unless you turn off the water heater for more than five days.

8. "Passive heat deficiencies over the ducts underneath windows will save energy"

Not only does this not save energy, it can make the room less comfortable. Warm air registers are placed under the windows to combat the cold air coming from the window. If air deficiencies are used, they may create drafts by deflecting the warm air out and away from cold air at the window.

9. "Plug the electric kettle and drying pan into the same outlet to save energy"

This won't save any energy. An electric appliance such as a kettle or toaster oven will draw the same amount of electricity regardless of the type of electrical outlet it's plugged into. The only reason to plug an appliance into a new line if you don't have enough other outlets in your kitchen and you are constantly plugging things or tripping breakers. A much safer solution is to have proper electrical outlets installed.

10. "Keep the thermostat at the same level all winter. Changing it uses more energy"

If you set your heat down when you go to bed and up again in the morning, you'll save money and money. However, don't turn the thermostat down if you are just leaving the house on a short errand.

Energy saving tips

Controlling your electrical bill doesn't have to cost anything. On the contrary, by following these easy, no-cost steps, you can save money and decrease the comfort of your home.

1. Repair leaky faucets. A leaky tap can drip 600 gallons (125 gallons) of hot water per month.

When washing dishes, fill the sink with about three inches of warm water to begin. Do a few dishes at a time and as you rinse them, run the water into the soapy dishes, thereby filling up the sink as you go. You'll use less hot water.

Most people when they fill a kettle at a water-tap can, build the object in their right hand and therefore use the hot-HOT faucet. Get into the habit of using cold water for this purpose.

On sunny days, open the drapes and curtains to let the sun heat the house. At night, close them to keep the heat inside. This works best in the winter because the angle of the sun allows for the greatest amount of sun to come in.

2. Cover all air conditioner units in the winter.

Change filters on both pumps and heating units before the heating season.

Remove that furniture is not placed in front of heating grates.

When the air conditioner is on, set the thermostat at 20° C (68° F).

Turn air conditioners off when you're not at home.

A clean air conditioning unit is more energy efficient. Regularly clean or replace dirty air filters.

Use an electric kettle to boil water for a cup of tea. It uses only half the energy of a stove-top element, which in turn only uses half the energy of a microwave.

3. Use a microwave electric kettle. Boil water over a stove burner as an energy-efficient alternative to the electric range and oven.

Set aside a cooking hour and cook as many foods as possible at one time in an oven.

Use fluorescent lighting and task lighting, rather than lighting the entire kitchen generally bright.

The thermostat whenever possible leave cold drinks out to thaw faster rather than in the refrigerator on hot days, use a thermostat to keep coffee warm rather than keeping it on the stove.

A dryer can be an energy and money saver, especially if you let warm clothes air dry up the chimney. Dry clothes a warmer heat than they produce.

If you have a water bed, make sure the bed spread is always on to keep heat in. An outside bed cover can save energy to maintain the outside's set temperature.

Wash a bath or doing dishes, let the hot water sit for while in the hot room. (But only if you don't have contamination or moisture problems, and keep children away from unsupervised tubs.)

Washing your clothes in cold water could save you enough hot water in a year to take 220 showers.

A home computer and printer use about the same amount of power every month as a microwave oven. The newest home computers run on only two-thirds the amount of energy as those manufactured in the mid '80s. Laptops require less power than desktop versions.

If you live in a condominium, consider forming an energy-saving committee to lower the building and look for ways to save energy and implement.

energy-efficient ideas. Use candles and oil-candles to pre-heat energy-saving tips.



less likely to crank up the thermostat.

USING APPLIANCES

FOODS

An unattended fridge works more efficiently than a covered one. The house action works more efficiently when it's about two-thirds full.

Don't overfill your hot water tank with water in other appliances. Tanks or fridges are designed to dry out and don't work as well if water runs.

Don't use a hot water heater by doing it on a full stop of paper, checking that it's fully filled in place. When tanks are cheap to replace, but don't use water tanks to be replaced.

Defrost frozen food inside the fridge. It helps keep the fridge cool and saves energy you would use with a microwave.

Don't open the fridge during the heat wave. Make sure there is adequate ventilation at the top and sides of a fridge. It needs to dissipate heat.

HEATING

The ideal heating temperature is 18° C (65° F). Make sure there are 1/2-inch of heat built up. The heater can't cool, the heater has to work. This means less heat waves.

Don't turn the thermostat on or in unheated parts, use remote control temperatures on your computer device.

DRYING

Close the lid after every load. A damped lid can change the dryer and create a few risks.

See next page

Renovation



If you are planning a renovation, you are in a perfect position to put energy management into practice and save some money on your start bill. Renovating usually creates the best opportunity to bring in the energy-saving "big gun" – geothermal heat pumps, energy-efficient windows, better insulation, automatic thermostats or central air conditioning – all of which can introduce new ways to use energy wisely. You will need to be extra careful when shopping for these items because most of them require a considerable investment and some have shorter payback periods than others. It's a good idea to get advice from your contractor, and remember to look for the Power Save logo, the CSA inspection label and, on appliances, the EnergyGuide label.

Windows: Heat loss through poor windows and window treatments can account for 10 to 25 per cent of heat loss in a home. Most new windows are now double-glazed, trapping air in the right amount of air between the two panes to create an insulation barrier. **Triples glazing** and/or low-emissivity glass provide even greater insulation value. Low-emissivity is treated to allow light and inwardward reflection through while reflecting indoor warmth back into the house. Argon gas is placed in air between the panes of glass improves the energy performance of the window.

Windows with wooden frames are the most expensive, but also the most fire-rated. Cad windows, which is protected on the exterior with a covering of pre-painted aluminium or vinyl, eliminates the need for maintenance. **Aluminium** is inexpensive, but conducts the cold rapidly and must be equipped with a thermal break. **Vinyl or fiberglass** frames provide good insulation value and lower cost.

Double-glazed are usually more energy efficient than sliding doors because they can be tightly shut with a compression seal. Double-hung windows, often found in older houses, have high air leakage rates and need frequent weather stripping maintenance.

The Canadian Standard Association (ASTM) specifies a Canadian air infiltration rate for a win-

dow. An A1 rating means the window is suitable for most climatic conditions in Canada. Windows rated A2 and A3 are required for more severe conditions.

Doors: With doors you can sometimes reduce air leakage by replacing the gaskets, weather stripping and hardware. A door in poor condition should be replaced. Flanged doors with a concrete post are a good replacement option. So are rolling doors. They have a compression fit, somewhat like an airplane door, making them air-tight. Flanged doors are light insulated doors are usually made of rigid foam, covered with metal or wood veneer. The most energy-efficient among them are those which are insulated and insulated with double weather stripping.



Heat Pumps: Ground-source and air-source heat pumps extract heat from an area and transfer it to another. They can replace or assist your electric furnace, electric hot water heater and air conditioning system. They are usually as much as 30 to 60 per cent on heating bills and up to 50 per cent on hot water bills. Heat pumps are one of the most energy-efficient space heating systems available, but should be properly maintained for optimum efficiency. Air filters should be checked on a monthly basis and replaced or cleaned if necessary. The outdoor unit should be kept free of leaves, grass, ice and snow. Don't knock ice off the outside coil; this could

damage the fins or break the refrigerant tubing.

Programmable Thermostats: The recommended temperature for space heating the house is 21° C when relaxing, 20° C when working or exercising, 18° C when sleeping and 16° C when not at home. Lowering the thermostat according to activity is the best way to maximize energy saving. A clock or "setback" thermostat, will let you program at least two set-backs and reset periods each day – for example, one before you go to bed, to and when you get up the other while you're out of the house during the day. Programmable thermostats range in price from \$60 to \$300, but the payback can be substantial. During the day, you'll save four per cent of your heating bill for every degree of temperature setback. Overnight, you'll save one per cent for each degree setback.



Controls, etc. Although the electrical cost of control or conditioning may be relatively high and the operating costs may be substantial, it's still more efficient than using a number of windows or air conditioners at once. Many of today's systems have options that allow you to preset temperature ranges over certain hours so that you can use your system in the most efficient manner.

Air-Conditioning: The attic of older houses are often under-insulated and unventilated, which can lead to excessive "hold-up" of hot air. Re-insulating your attic to modern standards and adding more ventilation could substantially reduce your cooling bill in the summer and reduce heat loss in the winter.

Sealing & Insulating for energy efficiency

If you put together all the cracks and leaks in a typical Canadian home, you would end up with a hole in the wall the size of a window. When air escapes from a gaping number of places throughout the house, here's how it usually leaks out:

Basement oil pipes	25%
Outside electrical outlets	20%
Windows	15%
Apex and vent entrances	15%
Vents	10%
Basement, light fixtures, electrical outlets, attic hatches	7%
Attic door	4%
Refrigerator	4%

Fortunately, it's easy to patch these leaks. Caulking and weatherstripping is the easiest, most inexpensive do-it-yourself task you can undertake and it can cut your bill by as much as 20 per cent. And because it tends to compare a series of little jobs, you can do it a little at a time.

Fading leaks may take some detective work. Check to see if your doors and windows fit tightly, and see if exhaust fans and vents close properly and are sealed around the edges. To find leaks, try this simple test: get two sticks of incense. On a windy day, hold the two sticks together and light them so you can clearly see the smoke. Hold them near areas where there may be air leaks. A strong leak will displace the smoke and cause the tips of the incense to glow brightly. Slower leaks will blow the smoke in one direction or drift it towards itself.

Remember to check plumbing pipes, vents and basins that may let cold air into the kitchen, bathroom or laundry room. The toilet rubber or latex caulking.

Before you begin to caulk windows, check for rot, mold, the condition of the glass, putty and paint. You might just want to replace them. If not, at least clean them up before you begin caulking.

If you are adding insulation to your house, caulking and weatherstripping should be done

first. Otherwise you'll be putting insulation over leaky walls.

Check behind your baseboards. Many houses have open gaps that can be sealed with caulking.

Caulking

There is a lot to think about when buying caulking – will it be used indoors, outdoors or both? Also think about the color, whether you can paint over it, what surface it will adhere to, what size gap it will seal, what temperature is required for application, what preparation is required and how long it will last. There are many different types of caulking which are suited to specific jobs.

Sealants: is suitable for indoor and outdoor jobs and is mildew and moisture resistant. It's available in clear forms and is therefore good for applications where you don't want to see the caulking.

Acrylics/Acrylic Latex: can be substituted for outdoor jobs as water-based for outdoors. It's paintable and adheres to most surfaces.

Butyl Rubber: good for indoors. It has good adhesion on metal, concrete and other masonry surfaces. Ventilation is required during application and curing.

Acrylic Sealants: good for sealing polycarbonate or acrylic materials, but should be used only where it is waterproof between two materials. It is found in most caulks, especially metal, concrete and gypsum board. It is not paintable.

Urethane from CWKings: available in grey color, it's good for woodworkings and hard-to-reach places.

Oil or resin-based caulks are not recommended

because it dries out, may stain wood and leave a short life span.

Weatherstripping

Weatherstripping is used around doors and opening parts of windows. When choosing among the many types of weatherstripping, consider the size of the gap to be sealed, the durability, appearance and ease of installation. To be effective, it has to close off the gap completely without interfering with the operation of the door or window.

Paint strippers: adhesive-backed foam, available in rolls, inexpensive, yet least durable.

For use along the bottom of vertical sliding windows, flanged windows, doors and along attic hatches.

Reinforced closed-cell foam: a more durable alternative to foam strips.

Works well on irregular surfaces.



Plastic Gaskets

Yellow or cream film, made of rubber or plastic, must be fitted carefully to ensure strong clamping pressure for a good seal. Attaches with nails, staples, or screws used for doors or swinging windows.

Spring Metal

"U"-shaped metal strips can be used instead of foam rubber or cellular plastics. Adhesive-backed, easy-to-install, good durability. Available in steel or large "V" format. For use along the bottom of vertical windows, sliding doors or flanged windows and doors.

Spring Metal

Similar to vinyl but generally used just for doors. Installed using staples.

see next page

A Man For All Seasons

At six feet, five inches, dressed in a diaper-die-braided grey suit and with his black hair swept into a small bowl, Tom Jackson seems bigger than life. Smiling easily and frequently, he has aspirations to spare. In person, Jackson is totally unlike the role he in best known face—effluent native Chief Peter Keno in the popular CBC dramatic series *North of 60*. With his abundant energy and enthusiasm, he is closer to irrepressible Indian hustler, his character in the upcoming CBC movie *Midwinter Women*. But then, the half-Indian actor has had several incarnations since he was born almost 45 years ago on the One Arrow Reserve near Tetsa, Sask. In addition to his work onstage and in television, Jackson is a folk singer, impressionist and a philosopher. Once a former street person and, later, what he calls a "broken, broken man," he is now enjoying the better time of his career. "You don't have to be a racist scientist to believe that there's a high crime profile out there these days," he said. "I'm in the better position of having to turn down roles simply because I'm too busy. And I mean good roles, where natives are real human beings, not stereotypes."

Surprisingly Winnipeg-based Jackson says that his TV work (he is a regular on the PBS children's show *Savannah*, *Tom Jackson and his magic tricks* on recent CBC dramas including *The Damned*) and his musical career (he has recorded four albums and recently signed a new deal with Qik 10, Muskeg are there by a means to do it. "I fit that walk into any other walk," he explained. "The 'other' work is a commitment to raise money for everything from literacy to the plight of the homeless. He is currently trying to set up mobile soup kitchens in Winnipeg and Calgary. He has also convinced the Calgary police force to "take me out and let me teach bands with people who will be the recipients" in his home town of Winnipeg, he and his wife, Alison, raise money for organizations working with the homeless through their Christmas and Winter Relief Association. As well, every year Jackson and other musicians give the "Three Carol Christmas Concert." The proceeds from those (and other) causes go to food banks, while profits from the sale of Jackson's own series go mostly to the Salvation Army.

Peter Goswold, who did CBC's *Indian Movement* program, says that Jackson's charitable activities are well known in the industry. "There's nothing calculated about him, it's not a lie," Goswold says. "He's always there doing it, figuring out ways to do it better." Goswold,



**Tom Jackson
has many
masks and
many lives**

who first met Jackson in the 1970s at a folk music festival, and that even then Jackson had a "misleading presence" onstage as well as an "you can't hang around Tom without being him" he added.

Jackson attributes his involvement in philanthropic causes to the influence of his parents, Mabel, who is of English descent, and Joseph, a Cree. "My mother and my father were good to me," Jackson says. "But I used to get beat up and angry—the point of tears—when my mother insisted on taking on the weight of the world. I couldn't understand why she'd watch the news and cry or go out on her way on the street to help some poor guy." Then he shrugs and adds: "I was young and stupid." Jackson says that as his mother aged, the weight seemed to lift from her. "It was like that statue of Atlas with the globe held on his shoulders—it passed over to me," he says, gesturing with his arms. "And you know the Jesus-like thing about it, it's not heavy at all. It's almost weightless, it's so rewarding."

There was never any question where Jackson wanted to put that energy. His own experience living on the streets of Winnipeg "more or less" from age 13 to 22, gave him a special connection to the homeless. He stresses that his parents had not lifted him out. "I was a guy who chose to live on the street," he says. "I slept under steps all night. Yeah, it was tough. I'd look back on it, but at the time I was running around seeing a great time." His parents—who had moved from

As Peter Keno in person, he battles with energy

a small village north of Edmonton—wrote about him, he says, but he always stayed in touch. "I'd go visit at home, and my mother would give me this sugar, and say, 'You did what?' " Jackson recalls, laughing. "She didn't ever speak to me."

Jackson is reluctant to be specific about his life on the street or about the difficulties of growing up half-Indian. He says he finds misinterpretation. "It doesn't make sense far me to try to talk about the things I saw," he says, arranging his words carefully. "They'd come out like they weren't just painful, like they weren't part of what made my life very rich." Then he adds emphatically: "I have no complaints in life, and I'm not going to tell anybody I have complaints." When pressed, he says that on the street he "learned a lot of good things in a bad environment—there was a lot of generosity and generosity as well as the tough stuff." He attributes his own survival to "being lucky."

Along with the luck came a warm baritone voice and musical ability that has made him a fixture on the folk festival circuit since the 1970s. He branched out into acting when he was asked to read for the part of David Jones in *The Young of Alton* in 1982. Jackson took over the role that Chief Don George had made famous, and he went with the production to New York City in 1983. Since then, he has appeared in several notable productions, including Linda Griffith's *James* (1988) and Tanya Hargrave's *Day Late* (1990). In between stage performances, he earned a Gemini nomination for supporting actor in the film *Joseph* (1987) and made numerous appearances on such TV shows as *Street Legal*, *The Comedians* and *The Young and the Restless*. And at various times in the past, he said, he has supported himself with winning at various recreational activities: "pools, pool, basketball, chess, anything."

While modest about his career, Jackson is remarkably candid about his own shortcomings, particularly a period in the mid-1980s. He had moved to Toronto in 1988 and was working regularly onstage and in TV and movies. But his recreational life was taking a toll. "I was not happy and emotionally," Tom says. "I was feeling lonely, lonely and bored, no many pool halls—I was indulging." Then he adds with a grin. "That, God, it was fun." He borrowed money for a one-way ticket back to Winnipeg in December, 1987, and arrived home, he says, weary and dejected. "But I realized that if I couldn't help myself then I'd best help others." At first, Jackson adds, he was disappointed and angry in his efforts to raise money for charity, and the results were staid. "But I had great spirit," he says. "I don't think you can go giving if you're trying to go good."

He met his future wife, Alison, then a CBC coordinator, during that period, and the couple were married in September, 1987. Jackson will discuss his family life, rather than to say that he has four grown children, from past relationships—and three grandchildren. His wife, he says proudly, was present at the birth of all one of those

grandchildren. "I call her the father," he says. "She was my daughter's labor coach during the delivery."

In 1988, Jackson began singing and performing at a Winnipeg bar called The Dicks Club. The following year, he began acting again, playing Okkoto in the Shakespeare on the Saskatchewan Festival. "My play Okkoto," Jackson says, rolling his eyes. "It's tough enough for me to read—I never finished school—much less read Shakespeare. But I did it, and I learned a hell of a lot."

In between movie projects and his regular work on *North of 60* and *Strong Time* series, Jackson is producing a native musical called *Desemvader* that is slated to tour Germany next year. The show is intended to alter the image of native culture and to showcase such contemporary native musicians as Kaskade. "We want to connect the beards-and-bushes, beaver-and-bears approach to native culture," says Jackson, who had met that day with government officials about the project. Tom Jackson, with his many masks and many lives, is already doing that.

DAVID TURKILL

Satire, native style

MEDICINE WHEEL
(CBC, Oct. 27, 8 p.m.)

There is a Broadway line in *Medicine Wheel* that perfectly illustrates the nation's self-image. Shaden Bagheri, the Toronto-based, multi-talented native leader played by Tom Jackson, is trying to sneak past a nurse to talk to Will (Graham Greene), who is holding a newborn baby in a hospital nursery. When the woman tries to stop him, Shaden glances her with a smug look. "It's OK," he says, "we're indigenous." A romantic comedy set in a mostly native community in Alberta, *Medicine Wheel* is part what the film is a scathing satire of native life. Sure, there is enough sly wit to dispense any bitterness, but not enough to make it stick in the throat. And the movie's blend of crude satire and whimsy offers a refreshing change from the usual issue-oriented drama about indigenous communities.

Based on the 1990 Thomas King novel of the same name, it features satiric actor Graham Greene as Will, a Toronto-based, globe-trotting photographer who returns to Medicine Wheel after 20 years to attend his mother's funeral. Shaden is the community leader who humbly wills to stay on to help with a first-nighter—and into playing on the basketball team. Will's reluctance to stay largely erodes to become romantically involved with Louise Hesterman (Shelley Long), a medical nurse who is the local acculturated.

The book's more serious theme of how Will comes to terms with his father's abandonment of the family, and his own for some reason, is only hinted at in the film. But that hardly seems to matter. Much of the appeal comes from watching Greene and Jackson play off each other. Greene flows in real life, their chemistry is evident. But in the film, it is a very sweet, comically ironic. Busting guys (people call it) seems to make themselves say that dirty word ("Toronto") and usual puns (Shaden offers cooking supper wears a chef's apron that says "I'm a reservation") keep the tone light but sharp-edged. At times, Will's sophistication as a world-renowned photographer does not fit with the behaviour he displays back home in Medicine Wheel. But it is often hard to tell if it is a hilarious effect, as when he tries to use a toilet that has a sign that says "No white people." Making equal parts respect and irreverence, *Medicine Wheel* produces much that is a little racist.

D.T.



Good news: a new election in 1994

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

The country is filled with weary Canadians who hate most all politicians. They're disgusted with their tactics, outbursts of their tactics, mannerisms about their privileges. The more they're fed up and want to attack politicians of the very word politics.

Strangely enough, they're going to get more of it. Because of the way this election is shaping up with a Prime Minister, it's quite likely there will have to be another election in the spring to sort things out. Because the voters are complaining things and splitting votes among five parties, they will simply assure that the vicious fiasco of Canadian spectacle they shall will be even louder, even more chaotic, even more costly.

As you who want an insight into the next Commons had only to watch the children forget painting and constant interruptions of that have called the leadership debates. But those five leaders, with five parties, the Question Period and you might wish for a decision.

Come Oct. 26 and Canadians are going to be represented abroad with a prime minister who can't speak either of the two official languages. One of his major opponents is the House, and the official Opposition, may be a party using the opposition as for the sole purpose of keeping up the country.

As you who want an insight into the next Commons had only to watch the children forget painting and constant interruptions of that have called the leadership debates. But those five leaders, with five parties, the Question Period and you might wish for a decision.

There are so many delicious prospects for chaos. Prime Minister, sweeping in from the private plane with a select crew, more worried about than that of Willy Wonka, says quite loudly that his friend's is worse than his. Campbell's Bizarre and he can't even



stand to hear it himself. (This is a problem of reality that apparently has never bothered Jean Chrétien.)

Andrew McLaughlin will be long gone, perhaps to continue his court trips to the Americas, and his successor won't be Dave Barrett who explains to reporters. "Because I'm let let's be logical about politics."

It is unclear why we should be. Chrétien has got this far in politics without learning how to pronounce words to other languages. Campbell, who has an IQ that goes off the charts, has never learned how to say thank you. So what's wrong logic?

Most people who go into politics aren't logical. If they were, they wouldn't put up with the brutal hours the constant travel, the arguments that is called surprise food, the abuse from reporters and the rejection at the polls as is inevitable.

There are, in fact, three types of people who

go into politics. There are those created with wisdom to climb to the top—a person not as successful as one might think. There is a second group, unfortunately not too large either, that actually thinks they would like to be in service to their country and mankind.

The third group is made up of those with personality disorders, often quite shy and in secure types who withdraw in the levels of having failures raising errors for them, advising women arranging coffee for them, dumbbells squeaking standing to their every need and—best of all—a microphone connected to amplifiers to enlarge their meek, quiet cry.

The Prime Minister is going to deliver to Ottawa a clutch of honey-handed senile men who will scuff their cowboy boots in shame when they find out how little they have to pay for a haircut in the bowels of the House Tower.

This would be Preston's best, his welcome and benefit of skills as the carloads of Speedy Muller salesman occurred in candidates in Quebec in 1984 by Brian Mulroney. Canadians who have grown used to vicious parliamentarians over the years are going to suddenly miss the glorious courtesy of John Crosbie, the radiant wit of Joe Clark, the sanctified brilliance of Geoff Boag, the serene serenity of Michael Wilson.

At one full swap, three prime ministers will drop from the benches John Turner, Brian Mulroney and Clark.

Good is Don Mazankowski. No more of Marcel Masse's wonderful eyes. No more of Barbara McDougall's wonderful hair. Good is Brent Stuchard. No more of the wonderful tongue of Harvie Andre.

Instead, we are going to the passion's lectures from Preston, waving against the wind, though going on after dark across the city in 1984. And Lucien Bochar, the expert within the business trying to convince us in his \$1,200 suit that Quebec has been starved for years by the evil Ottawa mob.

Will there come a day—someday March—when voters will pace for the dull old days when there were just two unchangeable mobs in there: the Grillo and Turner, who as 1984 ramp down in the corner? Once the system has been broken, the shadows are loose in the bungalow. Humpty-Dumpty is falling off the wall and we are going to look like Willy or Daniel or Prince.

We are going to get more politics than ever before. The prime ministers are going to go on as if, destroying their messages and their health all at once. Editorial writers will suffer serious breakdowns. Foreigners will think us crazy, and possibly be right.



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